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MEMOIRS

OF

MAXIMILIAN DE BETHUNE,

DUKE OF SULLY,

PRIME MINISTER TO

HENRY THE GREAT.

CONTAINING

The Hiſtory of the LIFE and REIGN of that MONARCH,
And his own ADMINISTRATION under Him.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH.

To which is added,

The Tryal of RAVAILLAC for the Murder of
HENRY the GREAT.

THE THIRD EDITION.

VOL. III.

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SUMMARY

OF THE

BOOKS contained in the THIRD VOLUME.

SUMMARY OF THE TWENTY-FOURTH BOOK.

MEMOIRS of the year 1607. Occupations and letters of Henry IV. Death of the chancellor Bellievre. Birth of the ſecond ſon of France. Henry's friendſhip for Sully, and his great confidence in him. A quarrel between them, in which Henry firſt ſeeks a reconciliation. Sully does the king great ſervice in the aſſembly of the proteſtants at Rochelle, in the diſpute between father Séguiran and the Rochellers. New grants made by Henry to the jeſuits. Plots carried on by Spain, in the court and the council, againſt Henry and Sully: a converſation between them on this ſubject; and Sully's advice to the king: he does the king other ſervices in the quarrels which happen at court. A farther account of the war between Spain and the United Provinces. Sully's ſentiments concerning the offers made by the Flemmings to the king: a council is held on that occaſion. The Flemmings gain a naval victory over the Spaniards. Conferences for a ſuſpenſion of arms, and for a truce. A farther account of the diſputes of Spain, the Griſons, and La-Valteline. Affairs of Germany, England, and other foreign ſtates. The quarrel between the pope and the Venetians terminated by the mediation of Henry. Brief of Paul V. to Sully. Sully's labours in the finances, the police, and other parts of government. Artifices of the courtiers to ruin him: he forms the ſcheme of a new council, which is not carried into execution. Other affairs of the finances, government, &c. Henry's ex-

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againſt luxury, and abuſes in the law; and other pieces of this cabinet. Henry's deſcription of his three miniſters. Other particulars of the finances, and of the government. Edict againſt fraudulent bankrupts. Another edict againſt duels. Plots of the courtiers againſt Sully. Flight of the prince of Condé; and other particulars of that affair. Henry receives falſe informations againſt the proteſtants. A diſcovery of a conſpiracy formed at La-Fléche againſt Henry's life.

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but afterwards goes to the Louvre: the gracious reception given him by the queen: he aſſiſts at the ceremony of the bed of juſtice. Mary de Medicis ſettles a public and private council, in which the policy and maxims of government are entirely changed: Sully's complaints of theſe proceedings: he is not regarded. The count of Soiſſons returns to court: quarrels between him and Sully. Councils held concerning the armament ſet on foot by Henry, concerning the duke of Savoy, &c. in which Sully makes fruitleſs repreſentations againſt their proceeding: he reſolves to reſign his employments, and to retire from court; his family oppoſe this deſign: he ſends Arnaud to Conchini, who receives with haughtineſs his advances: he unites with the prince of Condé: the wiſe advice he gives him; notwithſtanding which, this prince joins his enemies. Other plots of the court; and Sully's diſputes with the miniſters and courtiers. A farther account of the affair of Cleves, and its concluſion.

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SUMMARY

SUMMARY of the THIRTIETH BOOK.

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MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK XXIV.

ALL the affairs of the kingdom were this year ſo free from diſturbance, that they afford us ſcarce any event remarkable, or particular; but to compenſate for this they preſent us with a ſcene which, notwithſtanding its uniformity, is more ſtriking than uncommon cataſtrophes, in which the writer or the reader is only entertained with repeated acts of inhumanity or corruption, ſuch acts as can excite no other motion than thoſe of horror and diſguſt. This ſtriking ſcene is the plenty and the quiet with which all France was overſpread: never were there known ſo many pleaſures and diverſions as appeared this winter in Paris and at court; and the ſame tokens of a happy reign were diſcovered likewiſe over all the kingdom. This happineſs, which derived its ſource from the benevolent diſpoſition of Henry, reflected in its turn upon him, and gave him back part of the benefits he beſtowed. Diſengaged from the hurry and tumult of war, till the time preſcribed by himſelf, to complete the glory of his reign ſhould arrive, he had little elſe to do but to reſign himſelf to the calm pleaſures of a private life, amongſt his faithful ſervants, and in his different palaces, which he viſited ſucceſſively one after the other: he was at Saint Germains on the firſt of January, whither I could not go to pay my accuſtomed compliments to their majeſties: the wound I had formerly received in my mouth opened by an impoſthume, which confined me to my 1607.

1607. houſe. His majeſty had the goodneſs to write to me, to let me know how greatly he was concerned for my indiſpoſition, and ſent two of his miniſters, whom he chiefly employed, to conſer with me upon the affairs of government, the plan of which he always formed in the beginning of the year. Theſe two miniſters were Villeroi and the keeper of the ſeals; for Sillery, whom I have already diſtinguiſhed by this title, had been aſſociated by his majeſty with Bellievre in the office of chancellor, till by the death of that miniſter, which, it was foreſeen, was not far off, he ſhould fill the employment alone. Bellievre, once remarkable for the ſtrength of his underſtanding, had been for ſome time ſo greatly altered, that it was neceſſary to give him a ſucceſſor, while he was ſtill alive: he bore this aſſociation ſo impatiently, although Sillery behaved with the utmoſt politeneſs to him, as afforded a new proof of his incapacity to act alone*. His weakneſs increaſed daily; and returning again to a ſtate of infancy, he paid at length the laſt tribute to nature, after having paid almoſt all the others.

The king came to Paris on the 2d of January, with a deſign to carry the queen to Vigny; but I diſſuaded him from this journey, and he contented himſelf with making a tour to Fontainebleau, from whence he returned to Paris towards the end of February, in order to go to Chantilly, which was his ordinary reſidence during the month of March, it being very pleaſant there in that ſeaſon. In a letter he wrote to me from that place, dated March the 8th, he tells me, that the weather there was very fine: that he was every day on horſeback, and paſſed his time very agreeably. He fixed no where, till, after return-

* "You ſee, ſaid he, to M. Baſſompierre, a man going to ſeek his grave in Paris. I have ſerved as long as I was able, and now, when I am found no longer fit for ſervice, I am ſent to my repoſe, and to take care of the ſalvation of my ſoul, which the doing other people's buſineſs did not give me time to think of before: a chancellor without ſeals is like an apothecary without drugs. Journal de Baſſompiere.

When Henry IV. required the ſeals of M. de Bellievre, in order to beſtow them on Sillery, he took the opportunity his journey to the Limoſin afforded him for it, the great age and weakneſs of Bellievre not permitting him to follow the king in it: the chancellor ſaid, "If his majeſty would not make the ſeals ride poſt, he would take care to deliver them in time wherever his majeſty ſhould be.---You ſeem, ſir, added he, to be afraid there is not ground enough in Guienne to bury me: I am in good health, and have no deſire to live longer than I can be of ſervice to you; but I ſhould think life a burden to me, ſhould you think fit to diſcharge me." P. Matt. tom. ii. liv. iii. p. 688. This great chancellor, whoſe probity and ſteadineſs were univerſally acknowledged, had ſerved under five kings. He was the author of many uſeful regulations in the chancery. He died the 5th of September, in the following year, aged 78 years. He was born at Lyons.

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ing to Paris on the 20th of March, he set out immediately for Fontainebleau, where he stayed the spring. He had fine weather during his journey from Paris to Fleury, whither he went to visit his children who were in that palace; but from thence to Fontainebleau the rain accompanied him all the way. In the letter, in which his majesty gave me a detail of this journey, he likewise informed me that the dauphin had come a league to meet him; that he found him very handsome, as likewise his other children; that the queen, who was then with child, was very well in health; and that they expected to be very soon at Fontainebleau. "Send me the news of the city;" said this prince, in a letter dated the 1st of April. "My wife and I are in good "health, as are likewise my son and the rest of my children, who are "the prettiest creatures in the world, and give me infinite pleasure *. 1607.

The queen was delivered on the 16th of April, at 11 o'clock at night, of her second son, who was afterwards called the duke of † Orleans. Montmartin brought me the news of it immediately, in a billet from his majesty; and almost in the same moment I received a second letter from him, in which he commanded me to cause the cannon to be fired. The birth of this prince redoubled the joy of the royal family; the king, who had intended to return to Paris at the beginning of May, thought no longer of quitting Fontainebleau, from whence he only took a journey to visit madam de Moret.

Hunting was, as usual, his favourite diversion: although this exercise is not in my taste, yet I shall not venture to pronounce that it is not a very agreeable amusement, since so great a number of persons find an invincible attraction in it. The account that Praslin gave me from Fontainebleau, of the parties his majesty had engaged in, was not very likely to alter my opinion of it. In one of his letters he gave me a relation of the manner in which his majesty had spent one day: all the morning he had pass'd in fowling, hunted the wolf in the afternoon, and concluded the day with the chace of a stag, which had lasted till night, and in the midst of a shower of rain that held three or four hours; they were then six leagues from any place where they could

* Perefixe says, "he loved all his children, legitimate and natural, with equal "affection, but with different consideration: he would not suffer them to call "him Monsieur; a title which seems to "estrange children from their father, and "to denote servitude and subjection. But "ordered them to call him Papa, a name "of love and tenderness."

† He had no christian name, dying in his fifth year, before he was baptized.

1607. lodge, and were obliged to ride from thence wet through with rain, except the king only, who changed all his cloaths before he came to Fontainebleau, where he arrived a little fatigued indeed, but in high ſpirits, and perfectly ſatisfied, becauſe he had that day taken all that he had attacked. This is what princes call diverſion; but we muſt not diſpute their taſtes or pleaſures. The preceding day's fatigue did not prevent Henry from employing himſelf all the next morning in viſiting his workmen, and running from one work-room to another. "It is certain, added Praſlin, that at his return from the "park he felt ſome ſlight touches of a fever; but this was nothing to "him." Henry, when he wrote to me on this ſubject, ſhewed himſelf a true ſportſman, for he always ſlightly paſſed over his fatigues, and dwelt upon what he called his ſucceſſes; for example, he wrote to me, on the 20th of May, that he had hunted the day before with infinite pleaſure, and had not been incommoded with the heat; that he had taken his ſtag very early, dined at Ponthierry at ten o'clock, and at half an hour after two returned to Fontainebleau, where he found the queen, who had come to meet him. Another time he ſays, in one of his letters, "I have juſt taken a ſtag, amidſt great "heat, and with great ſatisfaction." Predominant paſſions are always thought cheaply gratified, be the purchaſe ever ſo dear.

This prince, however, was not ſo much engroſſed by his pleaſures, as to neglect any of his affairs; but as at that time they gave him but very little trouble, all he had to do was to write to me, or ſend for me to Fontainebleau, when he had any important affair to communicate to me: he ſent for me and the preſident Jeannin on Eaſter Wedneſday, and ordered his council to attend him there on the Monday after Eaſter. He never forgot to reward any additional trouble, by new inſtances of his bounty: "I will not, wrote he to me, wait for re-"queſts from thoſe by whom I am ſerved with diligence and fide-"lity; you aſſiſt me ſo well in my affairs, that it is fit I ſhould aſſiſt "you likewiſe in yours; I therefore aſſign you twenty thouſand "crowns out of the money ariſing from the extraordinary branches "of my revenue: cauſe the neceſſary diſpatches for it to be made "out." In another letter he ſays, "I hear you are building at La "Chapelle, and making a park there; as a friend to builders, and "as your good maſter, I make you a preſent of ſix thouſand crowns, "to help you to do ſomething handſome there."

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There is another sort of letters which I received from Henry, that are far higher in my estimation, since the confidence of so great a prince ought by a faithful or affectionate minister to be preferred to presents; such are those in which he opened his heart to me, and confided to me his dearest interests. In one of these letters he thus expresses himself: "A thought has occurred to me this morning, which "makes it necessary for me to see you, and consult you, as the most "faithful and affectionate of all my servants." It was the same with every thing that happened to disturb his quiet. My son happened to hurt himself in endeavouring to break a horse; his majesty sent a courier expressly to know the state of his health, writing to me, that as a father and a master he took all imaginable interest in it. My son was still more dangerously ill in November, and the king, not satisfied with sending Du Laurens his first physician to him, and recommending him in the most earnest manner to his care, wrote to me, that I was so dear to him, that if he imagined his presence was in the least necessary, he would come himself, to give me this proof of his affection; and with great goodness allowed me not only to defer my journey to Fontainebleau for two days, but for all the time that I could be useful to my son.

In the unhappy affair that happened at Amiens, where Rambures murdered my nephew D'Epinoi, the king being informed of the excessive affliction into which this cruel accident had plunged the brother of the deceased *, sent a person to visit him in his name, and three several times afterwards sent him compliments of condolance. Some incendiaries had endeavoured to animate the whole family of Epinoi against the count of St. Paul †, whom they accused of having had a hand in the assassination of my nephew. Saint Paul, justly offended at these reports, came to his majesty, and, with all that generous confidence which innocence inspires, cleared himself of the imputed crime, by proving that he was in Calais when it was committed:

* Of several sons sprung from the marriage of Peter de Melun, prince of Epinoi, marquis of Richebourg, and Hyppolita of Montmorency, of whom (as has been before mentioned) M. de Sully had taken the guardianship, only two then remained alive; William de Melun, prince of Epinoi, vifcount of Gand, conſtable of Flanders, grand bailiff of Hainault, knight of the order of the golden fleece, &c. it was he who had the great law-ſuit with the princeſs of Ligne, which will be mentioned hereafter: and Henry de Melun, marquis of Richebourg, his younger brother, who was killed by Rambures.

† Francis d'Orleans, count of St. Paul.

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1627. he ſpoke of the unhappy victim of this cruelty and artifice with praiſes, and with a grief ſo ſincere, that I myſelf regretted he was not at Amiens, where he ſaid he might have prevented this accident: he proteſted that he would willingly have ſhed part of his own blood to have preſerved the unfortunate D'Epinoi. He afterwards complained that his enemies, beſides the other injurious reports they had propagated, gave out that his majeſty had reſolved to have him examined in a court of juſtice, and had promiſed to treat him with great ſeverity; that I had determined to behave to him with contempt, and get him prohibited from coming to Paris, while I was there. Saint Paul ſtaid three whole days in Paris, to remove the ſuſpicions that had been conceived of him. I thought he behaved like a brave and gallant man upon this occaſion; and I believe he was very well ſatisfied with the manner in which I treated him. Henry was as much intereſted in this affair as if it had concerned him perſonally; he cleared up the whole conduct of Saint Paul to me, and in a letter he wrote to me at that time, deſired me not to give credit to any reports that ſhould come from the Baſtile, where my enemies had no other view but to join a ſecond misfortune to the firſt. He exhorted me to take advantage of the confidence Saint Paul ſeemed to have in me, to prevent the affair from having any bad conſequence.

I was ſtill confined to my houſe by this unfortunate accident, when the king came to me one day to confer with me about ſome affairs of gallantry, which I have forgot; all I remember is, that I expreſſed myſelf in very ſevere terms againſt Madame d'Angouleſme * and another perſon, who were principally concerned in it; and that I was bold enough to repreſent to Henry that amours, which ſo little ſuited with his age and dignity, were ſo many baneful wounds to his glory, and probably would end in ſomething ſtill more fatal. My freedom, often graciouſly received, produced nothing this time but an extreme rage in Henry, and drew upon myſelf the moſt lively reproaches from him. He left my chamber in ſuch wrath, that he was heard to ſay aloud, and with great emotion, "It is impoſſible to "bear with this man any longer; he is eternally contradicting me, and "approves of nothing I propoſe: but, by heaven, I will make him "obey me; he ſhall not appear in my preſence theſe fifteen days." My diſgrace appeared to all that were preſent as a thing abſolutely re-

* Charlotte de Montmorency, wife of Charles de Valois, duke of Angouleſme.

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folved on. My ſervants were all afflicted; but many others, I believe, inwardly rejoiced at it. 1607.

At ſeven o'clock the next morning, the king came to the arſenal, with five or ſix perſons whom he brought with him in his coach. He would not allow my people to give me notice of his arrival; but walked up to my apartment, and tapped at my cloſet-door himſelf. Upon my aſking, "Who is there?" he replied, "It is the king." I knew his voice, and was not a little ſurpriſed at this viſit. "Well, what "are you doing here?" ſaid he, entering with Roquelaure, De-Vic, Zamet, La-Varenne, and Erard the engineer; for he had occaſion to ſpeak to me about the fortifications of Calais. I replied, that I was writing letters, and preparing work for my ſecretaries. And, indeed, my table was all overſpread with letters and ſtates of affairs, which I was to lay before the council that day. "And how long have you "been thus employed?" ſaid his majeſty. "Ever ſince three o'clock," I replied. "Well, Roquelaure," ſaid the prince, turning to him, "for how much money would you lead this life?" "Faith, ſire, not "for all your treaſures," replied Roquelaure. Henry made no anſwer; but commanding every one to retire, he began to conſer with me upon matters in which it was impoſſible for me to be of his opinion; and this he eaſily perceived when I told him coldly, that I had no advice to give: that his majeſty having, doubtleſs, taken his reſolution after mature deliberation, all that remained to be done was to obey him, ſince he was diſpleaſed when my ſentiments happened not to agree with his. "Oh, oh," ſaid Henry, ſmiling and giving me a little tap on the cheek, "you are upon the reſerve with me, and are angry at what hap-"pened yeſterday: however, I am ſo no longer with you; come, come, "embrace me and live with me with the ſame freedom as uſual: for I "love you not the leſs for it: on the contrary, from the moment that "you ceaſe to contend with me on occaſions where I am convinced you "cannot approve my conduct, I ſhall believe you no longer love me."

It is circumſtances like theſe that ſerve to diſcover the bottom of Henry's character; and, indeed, to relate them is to ſhew him in his faireſt light. It is common enough to ſee the miniſters and favourites of princes fall into diſgrace; it is likewiſe common to ſee them deſerve ſuch uſage by a criminal conduct. On theſe occaſions, can it be ſaid that the puniſhment is the conſequence of a fault? this is ſeldom the caſe. That which ought to be done, merely upon principles of juſtice, is often the effect of caprice, levity, and ill humour; for reaſon ſeems

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1607. to be equally incapable of making herſelf heard, when ſhe oppoſes the paſſions, or when ſhe joins with them.

The king afterwards converſed with me upon affairs which it is not permitted me to relate here; then embracing me, he bid me farewel. As he went out of my cloſet, he told De-Vic that he had provided for the fortifications of Calais; and raiſing his voice, "There are "people, ſaid he, fooliſh enough to fancy, that when I ſhew any re- "ſentment againſt M. de Sully, I am really in earneſt, and that it will "hold a long time; but they are greatly deceived: for when I reflect "that he never makes me any remonſtrances, or contradicts me but "for my honour, my grandeur, and the advantage of my affairs, and "with no view to his own intereſt, I love him the more for his free- "dom, and am impatient till I tell him that I do." A prince who underſtands his own intereſts, ſhould thus from time to time give ſtriking marks of his eſteem for the miniſter he has made choice of; provided that choice be really good, it will likewiſe ſecure to him that of the public, which is a very eſſential point.

I now return to thoſe affairs on which Villeroi and Sillery were, by the king's order, to confer with me. One of the moſt important related to the proteſtants. The king having in the preceding year granted them permiſſion to hold a convocation in this, they were ſummoned to meet at Rochelle; and the deputies of which it was to be compoſed, were appointed in the provincial aſſemblies. It was from ſome of theſe very deputies his majeſty received notice that the article of the convocation at Gap concerning the Pope, of which ſo much has been already ſaid, was expreſſed in their papers. However ill-af- fected a part of thoſe who bore the greateſt ſway in this aſſembly might be, they judged it neceſſary to ſend three deputies to his ma- jeſty, as well upon this affair, as ſome others which they knew would not be agreeable to him. The matter was this: they had determined to bring again under examination the queſtion which had been already diſcuſſed with ſo much warmth at the aſſembly of Chatelleraut, con- cerning the nomination and number of the proteſtant deputies-gene- ral, and the duration of their office, as the time for which the preſent two were to be employed was near expired.

The king, by ſending the private deputies to me from Fontainebleau, where he then was, followed his uſual cuſtom on ſuch occaſions, which was to make me acquaint the aſſembly with his intentions as from my- ſelf;

ſelf; and from a principle of affection for my brethren, reſolving, 1607.
if he could not ſucceed by theſe means, to make uſe of his authority. On the 27th of April, my brother was ſent by his majeſty to confer with me; but as I was ſtill in expectation of ſeeing the king himſelf at Paris, I kept the deputies two or three days without giving them an anſwer, which I ſhould have been glad to have concerted firſt with his majeſty. On the 5th of May, I had a letter from him, in which he told me that he had altered his deſign of coming to Paris, and ſeemed impatient to know what I had done with the deputies. "I "know already, ſaid he, all they could ſay to you in anſwer to thoſe "repreſentations, which, in the letter I ſent you by your brother, I "directed you to make them. M. de La-Nouë, to whom I ſpoke "yeſterday in the preſence of M. de Villeroi, repeated to me the "greateſt part of what paſſed. He tells me, he never ſaw ſo many "fools in one ſet of men, and named Rivet among others. It can-"not be doubted but that the deputies, before they ſaw you, con-"ſulted firſt with M. du Pleſſis, who inſtructed them what to ſay."

I WROTE ſuch a letter to the aſſembly as his majeſty required of me: I exhorted them not to arrogate to themſelves any power, with regard to the article concerning the general deputies, which belonged to the police, or the government: I repreſented to them that the offices of the general deputies ought to laſt three years, leſs time not being ſufficient to give them a thorough knowledge of affairs; and that they ought not to content themſelves with naming two deputies only; becauſe, as the choice was not confirmed by the general aſſemblies till private ones had been firſt conſulted (a formality that took up a great deal of time) if any accident happened to one of theſe deputies, the party would want an agent with the king; therefore if, inſtead of two, they always propoſed ſix to his majeſty, the vacancy would be ſupplied immediately by his naming one of the ſix pointed to him in the liſt. With regard to the Pope, I remonſtrated to them, that by again urging a queſtion which had been already pronounced uſeleſs and diſreſpectful to the Pope, who by his gentle and pacific character merited a quite different treatment, they ran the danger of loſing, through their own faults, and for a trifle of no conſideration, that calm and happy ſituation which had ſo long been the end of their wiſhes. I referred them to the ſentiments they had formerly acknowledged, and concluded my letter by repreſenting to them, in the moſt forcible manner I could, that diſobedience of any kind to their maſter was dange-

1607. rous; but that an unjuſt and unreaſonable diſobedience would infallibly end in their deſtruction.

I likewise got ſome other perſons, whoſe influence with the party I was ſenſible was greater than mine, to write to them in the ſame terms, and entreat them to hear, and conſider with attention, the arguments Montmartin had to add to theirs. I fixed upon him to be the bearer of this letter; and his majeſty on this occaſion thought him qualified to be the interpreter of his will to the aſſembly. I likewiſe made uſe of another motive to influence their reſolutions, which his majeſty expected would have ſome weight; and this was, that as the Rochellers had lately ſolicited the grant of two thouſand livres for their college, I gave them to underſtand that his majeſty would judge by the reſpect and deference which they induced their brethren to pay to his orders, whether they merited this favour from him. Some days afterwards I received a letter from the king, in which he informed me, that Montmartin and the deputies ſent by him had been indeed tolerably well received by the aſſembly; but that they had not ſhewn all the reſpect they ought to have done, either to the ſpeeches of the firſt, or to my letters, and thoſe that were added to them, the authors of which had been ſtiled in deriſion, "The four prophets of the church." The accounts Montmartin ſent from time to time of the diſpoſition of the aſſembly were not more to Henry's ſatisfaction. "If this holds," ſays he in a letter to me, "they will be kings, and we the aſſemblies." However, that party which was for the king carried it at laſt. The zeal Montmartin exerted in this aſſembly was rewarded by the king with a penſion, although it could not be ſaid that his ſucceſs was complete with regard to the obſtacles he had ſurmounted: yet he thought he had done all that was poſſible to be done, ſince he was able to declare to his majeſty that his will had been obeyed. "Montmartin," ſays Henry in a letter to me, "has taken great pains in this affair, tho' to little purpoſe, "which he will not believe; he has brought the ſhadow, but the ſub-"ſtance remains; the article of Gap having no more than two voices."

The church of Pons gave an inſtance of great boldneſs, when by ridiculouſly applying to herſelf the manner of governing in religious affairs by deputies-general, ſhe took the liberty to name three perſons to the king, Verac, Longchamp, and Bertauville, to be inveſted in quality of particular deputies with the government of that city. Henry anſwered only by his edicts: but he was not leſs offended with this inſolence, than at the informations he received of the private conferences

rences Leſdiguieres and Muarat held together; as likewiſe of the diſreſpect ſhewn by the miniſter Chamier to the conſtable, in paſſing through Montelimar. I afterwards made this miniſter clear himſelf to Henry of the faults that had been charged upon him. 1607.

Towards the cloſe of this year, the Rochellers gave the king another cauſe of diſguſt with them, by writing in a body, without his majeſty's knowledge or mine, to the king of England, to demand the liberty of a Scotch miniſter, named Melvin, who had been impriſoned in the Tower of London for having publiſhed ſome injurious writings againſt the king and his council. The Rochellers had nothing to ſay in their own defence, againſt a fact which the miniſter Primroſe himſelf, who had carried their diſpatches to England, confeſſed to his majeſty, and was, in conſideration of this confeſſion, permitted by the king to exerciſe the miniſterial functions at Bourdeaux: but what rendered the Rochellers ſtill more criminal, was, that they attempted to give this priſoner a retreat in their city, and to allow him to preach in their churches; which carried in it ſuch an affectation of independence as was wholly inexcuſable. The king of England did not require much intreaty to grant to a city he had an affection for, ſo ſmall a favour as the enlargement of a ſtranger he was glad to have out of his kingdom; nor am I certain but that the council of London found a ſecret ſatisfaction in making the king of France ſuch a preſent: but Henry, beſides the conſideration of his authority, which was wounded by ſuch a procedure, had the ſame reaſon for not receiving him into his dominions, as king James had for driving him out of his. He ſent Bullion to confer with me upon this affair, which was alſo the ſubject of many letters I received from him, or from Villeroi by his orders. I was likewiſe commiſſioned by the king to demand from the Rochellers an explanation of this conduct, to reproach them with their temerity, and to prevail upon them to implore a pardon for it of his majeſty, who appeared perfectly ſatisfied with every ſtep I took in this affair.

Among many real faults charged upon that city, it was found that there were ſome groundleſs and unproved imputations. The jeſuits being deſirous of ſending one of their ſociety to preach in Rochelle, La Varenne, father Cotton, and ſome others, choſe father Seguiran * for that purpoſe; and, that they might not hazard a refuſal from his ma-

* Gaſpar Seguiran, afterwards confeſſor to Lewis XIII.

1607. jeſty, they applied to Beaulieu and Freſne, the two ſecretaries of ſtate, who, by their own authority, and without mentioning it to his majeſty, delivered to this father letters by which he was entitled to preach in Rochelle. The jeſuit accordingly preſented himſelf at the city gates, and being aſked who he was, replied boldly, "I am Seguiran, of the "company of Jeſus, who, by virtue of the king's letters, am come "to preach in this city." "Go back again," ſaid the centinel very diſreſpectfully, "we know very well that Jeſus had no companions, "and that you have no letters from the king." The Rochellers, without hearing more, obliged the father to go back. Seguiran in a rage threatened to complain to the king, and did not fail to keep his word. He was ſo well ſeconded by his partizans at court, who, concealing all or part of the truth from his majeſty, exaggerated the diſreſpect that had been ſhewn to his orders, in ſuch a manner, that Henry in a billet, which expreſſed great rage and impatience, deſired I would immediately attend him at Fontainebleau.

I found the court in an uproar, and the king ſurrounded by perſons who uſed their utmoſt endeavours to keep up his reſentment. "So," ſaid he as ſoon as he ſaw me, "your people at Rochelle have acted in a "ſtrange manner: ſee the reſpect they ſhew me, and the gratitude they "expreſs for the friendſhip I have diſcovered for them, and the favours "they have received from me." He then related the fact to me, with an air that ſhewed he was determined to chaſtiſe them for the fault; but afterwards taking me aſide, "I have been obliged to appear angry, "ſaid he, to ſilence thoſe who are ſolicitous to find ſomething to blame "in my conduct. But the Rochellers have not been entirely in the "wrong; for I neither gave orders for thoſe letters, nor was informed "of their intention to procure them; if I had, I ſhould have taken "care to prevent their being granted. However, you muſt think of "ſome means to ſettle this matter, without diſcovering what the ſe"cretaries of ſtate have done; for that will produce bad conſequences "for all their other diſpatches."

After ſettling with his majeſty what was fitteſt to be done, I wrote to the Rochellers that it was abſolutely neceſſary they ſhould make ſome ſubmiſſion to the king, and aſſure him of their ſorrow for having offended him. I inſinuated to them, that by a little obedience this affair would end advantageouſly for them: I aſſured them, that the letters had been granted without his majeſty's knowledge, but that they ſhould have no farther trouble of that kind, and that the king would put

put an end to this without encroaching upon their privileges: and, lastly, that I would take all imaginable care to manage their interests, together with two or three of their best and wisest citizens, whom I desired them to send to me. The method I took was, to procure father Seguiran other letters signed by his majesty himself, by virtue of which he preached at Rochelle a few days, at the end of which he was recalled; a medium with which the jesuits themselves did not appear dissatisfied. 1607.

But it was extremely difficult to find one that would content the city of Poitiers. From the time that this city had been constrained to admit the jesuits, I was fatigued with repeated complaints of these fathers from the bishop, the lieutenant-general, and the principal inhabitants, either separately or in a body. These complaints, which were not made by the protestants only, but even by the catholics themselves, turned chiefly upon the great number of partizans the jesuits had gained at Poitiers, who on their arrival had given them possession of a college, and expended great sums of money upon houses and furniture for them, and had even endowed them with the richest benefices in that district: yet that these fathers, who had been settled amongst them upwards of two years, and during that time had the most part of the youth of the city committed to their care, had been of no advantage to them; a misfortune of which they were more sensible, having had before, as they alledged, good colleges, and excellent masters. To these they added complaints of more consequence, accusing the jesuits of sowing dissensions in the city, and in the whole province; and earnestly intreated that they might be recalled, and a royal college founded. It was not possible for me to do them much service with Henry, who lately had carried his complaisance for the Order they complained of so far, as to grant, at their solicitation, that his heart should be deposited in their college of La Fleche, instead of the church of Notre Dame, where it was the custom to deposite the hearts of our deceased kings. It was upon this occasion that a canon of that church, meeting a jesuit about the time that this distinction was granted to his society, asked him which he would rather choose, to put the king's heart into La Fleche, or la fleche into the king's heart. *.

* I should have thought it more for M. de Sully's honour not to have repeated a pun so silly and full of malignity as this. *La fleche* is French for *an arrow*.

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1607. Notwithstanding the favours his majesty was every day showering upon the jesuits, this society doubtless thought themselves still more obliged to the king of Spain, since he continued to support all their designs; designs which they carried on in the kingdom, and even in the midst of the court itself. The Spanish ambassador freely disclosed to the great number of friends this crown had amongst us, that his catholic majesty was resolved to prevent, by every method in his power, a king so ambitious, so prudent, so able a general as Henry was, whose reputation was so high, and who was so closely connected with the protestants, from executing those great schemes, which the money, the arms, and ammunition of all kinds he was amassing, gave but too much reason to believe he had projected; that it was necessary, therefore, to prevent his taking wing, since nothing could resist him in his flight, and find him sufficient employment within his own kingdom, by making use, for the same purposes as they had done during the league, of the enmity there was between the two religions established in France; that this was the business of all the catholics in Europe, whose fears were so much the more reasonable, as Henry had shewn by the protection he had granted to the United-Provinces, that he knew how to weaken the only power capable of making any great effort in their favour; and that it was, therefore, necessary to act in the same manner towards him, by endeavouring to consume his forces before they undertook openly to procure satisfaction.

In these discourses I was still less spared than any other person. It was said, that I had prevailed upon his majesty to undertake greater things than any other king of France had attempted for these five hundred years, and that my chief aim was the destruction of the catholic religion. This last charge is the only one I deny; and it is, indeed absolutely false: but they thought themselves sufficiently authorized to load me with it, as it was the most likely to make some impression. I alledge nothing against the ambassador without foundation. Some of the ecclesiastics, whom he had confided these secrets to, had still love enough for their country to be offended with such discourse; they thought they satisfied sufficiently their conscience, and their honour, by obliging cardinal Du-Perron and his brother, to whom they repeated what had been said, to swear by their faith, and the holy evangelists, that they would not name them. It cannot be imagined, that the two Du-Perrons would forge an imposture: all was too circumstantial. They repeated but the words of the ambassador, who had likewise said, that the

the affair was already so far advanced, that it was no longer to be called a mere project only; for that many good ecclesiastics, and friends of his catholic majesty, had, and did still labour so effectually for its success, that a happy revolution was soon to be expected: besides, it was not only in his court that these informations were given to the king. He received them from all foreign courts, where the Spanish ambassadors publicly declared, that the balance began to lean too much on the side of France to make it possible for a peace to continue long between the two crowns. It was likewise added, that the Spaniards supported these discourses by the most strenuous endeavours, and the practice of every kind of artifice, to deprive France of her friends and allies. 1607.

HENRY, alarmed as he had good reason to be, with these informations, which multiplied on every side, had from the latter end of the last year talked of them to me; and sent La-Varenne for me one morning so very early that I found him in bed. As soon as he was dress't, he took my hand, saying, "My friend, I want to confer with you on "some matters of importance. We will go into my library, that we "may not be soon interrupted; for although I have some touches of "the gout, I shall continue to walk as usual, if possible." After relating to me the advices he had received, "Well, confess freely, said "he, that you are not grieved to find by what I have told you, your "opinion confirmed, that it is necessary great kings should resolve to "be either hammers or anvils, when they have powerful rivals, and "never depend too securely upon a perfect tranquility. I do not deny "but that I have often contested this point with you; but since it is "now clear that you were in the right, let us, at least, endeavour to "reduce these rivals to such a condition, that when I am dead they "may not carry their designs into execution, which probably they "will then find it easier to do than during my life, who am well ac-"quainted with all their arts. I am not so stupid, continued Henry, to "take vengeance at my own expence upon your huguenots for the "tricks they sometimes play me; they deceive themselves greatly if "they imagine I know not the difference between my strength and "theirs, and that it is easy for me to destroy them whenever I please: "but I shall not for a trifling offence, or to satisfy others, weaken my "state so much by ruining them, as to become a prey to my enemies. "I would rather give them two blows, than receive one from them. "Therefore," pursued he, rising in his temper as he spoke, "since the "malice of these rascals is so great, we must endeavour to prevent it;

"and,

1607. " and, by heaven I ſwear, for they have kindled my rage, if they pur-
" ſue their plots againſt my perſon and my ſtate, for I was informed
" yeſterday that there are deſigns laid againſt both, if they once oblige
" me to take up arms, I will do it in ſuch a manner that they ſhall
" curſe the hour when they diſturbed my quiet. Therefore make all
" the neceſſary preparations, and provide arms, ammunition, artil-
" lery, and money in abundance; and conſider of ſome motto for this
" approaching year 1607, that may expreſs the reſolutions we have
" juſt taken; that if they make war on us like foxes, we will make
" it on them like lions." I was charmed to hear the king talk in this manner, and obeyed his orders with joy. Upon the gold medals, which I preſented him with on the beginning of the year, was repreſented the temple of Janus, a lily ſeemed to keep the door ſhut, which was ſtill further explained by this motto: " Clauſi, cavete
" recludam." Henry was pleaſed with the invention, and thought I had ſucceeded very well in expreſſing his reſolution not to ſuffer himſelf to be prevented by his enemies.

It was with great difficulty that he could help regarding as ſuch ſix or ſeven perſons of his court, againſt whom, among many others, he was continually receiving informations. The whole houſe of Lorraine was comprehended in theſe informations, which was the cauſe that Henry, in a letter he wrote to me one day, made uſe of this expreſſion: " All the croſſes of Lorraine are falſe, and I am afraid the
" flowers-de-luce are not free from the contagion." To theſe complaints his majeſty often added reproaches on me, for appearing publicly to have ſtronger connexions with thoſe princes than was conſiſtent between perſons whoſe principles were ſo different. Tho' I looked upon the injurious reports that were made of Meſſieurs de Lorraine to be abſolutely falſe, yet I thought I owed ſo much complaiſance to my prince, as to mention them to one of the family, who might give him the moſt cauſe for uneaſineſs. I did ſo, and in return received aſſurances of obedience and attachment ſo apparently ſincere, that I thought myſelf under an obligation to undeceive his majeſty in this reſpect. I entreated him to do me the juſtice to believe that I would, without heſitating a moment, break off any connexion which appeared to me in the ſmalleſt degree prejudicial to his authority; and ſince he permited me to offer him my advice upon this head, I repreſented to him, that even his own intereſt required I ſhould not abandon the perſon of whom he complained: for although it ſhould be ſuppoſed, that he concealed from me ſome part of his ſentiments, yet, while I continued to preſerve

preſerve ſome influence over him, I was very certain he would never carry his diſcontent ſo far, as to be guilty of any breach of his duty towards him; and that it appeared abſolutely neceſſary to me, in order to prevent giving any apprehenſions to perſons who would be ſo much the more affected with an imputation of diſloyalty, as they deſerved it leſs, to be ſilent, and wait for a full diſcovery with patience. 1607.

With regard to thoſe other perſons who were comprehended in this accuſation, the king told me nothing of which I had not been informed before him; but whenever I endeavoured to ſearch into the bottom of theſe reports, I was always convinced there had been but little foundation for them. I was likewiſe ſo well acquainted with the motive that had induced theſe liars to propagate their ſlanders, that at length I took a reſolution to give credit to none of them; and heard them without reply name ſeveral perſons whom they found a malignant joy in abuſing: not but it was certain, that the Spaniſh party at court was very conſiderable; I have been the firſt to acknowledge this truth, and none knew better than myſelf thoſe who profeſſed themſelves friends to it: but what probability was there, that in this aſſociation, which they would endeavour to keep ſecret, they ſhould introduce perſons who were known to have a long and invincible averſion to it?

To this Henry anſwered, that it was ſtill very dangerous that there never ſhould be any conſpiracy in the ſtate, which they did not entertain hopes of engaging the nobleſt and greateſt part of the court to join; and again repeated his importunities, that I would diſcover and prevent thoſe ſuppoſed plots. Although I agreed with him in his maxim, yet I oppoſed it by another which ſeemed no leſs inconteſtable, that he ought not to think of puniſhing thoſe crimes, as yet barely formed in the imagination, and carried no farther than wiſhes; but only to be ſtrictly attentive to prevent their maturity, by ſeparating, as if without deſign, thoſe ſeeds that gave riſe to them. And this ought always to be the buſineſs of the miniſter rather than the maſter. But at moſt, what could theſe people, repreſented in ſuch dreadful colours, be able to perform? It was by this reflection that I endeavoured to calm the mind of the king: Was not his ſingle perſon more formidable than a thouſand of theirs? and were not his ſervants, whom he knew to be faithful, a ſecure defence againſt his enemies? Henry had no enemies among them whom he could not, by a ſingle word, make

1607. tremble; and during his life, there was no reaſon to apprehend that the peace of the government would be diſturbed by any revolution.

This is almoſt all that paſſed on the occaſion, between his majeſty and I, either by meſſages or letters, which he often ſent me by the duke of Rohan. Henry at length followed the advice I gave him, which was to trace this buſineſs through bye-paths, and act with policy rather than force. I did not behold this employment in the ſame light with others that the king had charged me with in his court: I took ſeveral journies thither on this account, and neglected nothing which I thought capable of diſſipating theſe malignant vapours. I even offered his majeſty to devote to it all the time he permitted me to ſpend at my houſes in the country, and to purſue my enquiries, without ceaſing, near him: I agreed with him that the letters I ſent him on this ſubject ſhould be written in a cypher which it was not poſſible for any other to underſtand, or counterfeit: I ſent Deſcartes to Barrault to give him inſtructions concerning every thing it was neceſſary he ſhould do and ſay at Madrid, both upon this ſubject and ſeveral others, among which was the affair relating to a memorial that was preſented by the Spaniſh ſecretary, on the fifth of April, to the king at Fontainebleau.

In this memorial, his majeſty was requeſted to give orders for reſtoring to the Spaniards a certain capture made by Grammont, and of which he had refuſed to make reſtitution, without a command from his majeſty. To ſettle this affair, all that was neceſſary was a perfect knowledge of the law relating to ſhipwrecks; for the capture was of that nature. The Spaniſh miniſter maintained that this law had nothing to do with veſſels and pieces of ordnance, which belonged immediately to kings and ſovereign princes, and of which they were actually making uſe. Neither the law which was quoted, nor the matter in diſpute, ſeemed ſo clear to the council, as Spain would have had it. Villeroi replied, that when the famous fleet ſent by the deceaſed king of Spain againſt England was diſperſed in the Channel, they had, indeed, procured the wrecks that came to Calais to be reſtored; but that this reſtitution was looked upon as a matter of favour rather than right. The king referred it to me to decide this queſtion, by the authority and examples of the archives of the monarchy.

The

The proceedings this year in Flanders, between Spain and the United-Provinces, will appear to have conſequences very different for us. From the beginning of the campaign, ſome hopes were conceived, that a peace would be ſtill delayed for a conſiderable time longer. Du-Terrail attempted to ſurpriſe the town of Sluys for the Spaniards: he opened himſelf a paſſage by petarding, and advanced ſo far at the head of the ſoldiers, which had been given him by the archduke for this enterprize, that he would, doubtleſs, have taken the place if he had been better ſupported; but his ſoldiers being ſeized by a ſudden panic, fled: and thus abandoned he was obliged to retire, without drawing any advantage from his aſſault. The prince of Orange attacked Antwerp, and ſucceeded no better. So much puſillanimity ſerved only to ſhew that both parties had forgot how to make war; and gave more weight to propoſals for a peace, which were then publickly made. An averſion ſo deeply rooted as that of the Dutch for Spain, inſpired them with a deſire to make a laſt attempt (by the ſame method they had uſed the preceding year) to prevail upon us to make their cauſe our own. And this was the offer of a certain number of their beſt towns in hoſtage. 1607.

I believe I have not related what paſſed in the council upon this occaſion. It was there alledged, that it was unreaſonable to expect the king ſhould every year expend two millions for the ſervice of the States, without drawing any advantage from it: that the example ſet by queen Elizabeth afforded us a very uſeful leſſon; and that the Dutch had reaſon to think themſelves happy, if we aſſiſted them upon the ſame conditions. There was nothing ſurpriſing in this opinion of the council, except its being ſupported, as it was obſerved, only by the zealous catholics; thoſe very catholics who would have ſacrificed every thing for the ſucceſs of their project to unite France and Spain. Probably it will not be eaſy to gueſs what end theſe counſellors purſued by meaſures in appearance ſo contradictory to each other. But I ſhall explain it: they were far from believing the offers of the Dutch as ſincere as they really were; and, in their opinion, there needed no more to create diſcord between the king and the States, than to accept their propoſition. It was, therefore, reſolved to accept it, while I diſcovered no otherways my diſlike of this meaſure than by refuſing my voice.

1607. However, it fell out quite contrary to their expectations. The council of the United-Provinces * received this overture gladly, and conſented to give the king ſix towns in hoſtage, which he ſhould chuſe himſelf, provided he furniſhed them with two millions, and a certain quantity of powder, and favoured as formerly their levies of ſoldiers in France. Buzenval, as has been already obſerved, being returned the preceding winter, ſignified this reſolution to our counſellors, who in the perplexity they were caſt into by it, knew no longer either what to ſay, or what determination to take. And I am of opinion, that inſtead of mortifying I did them a real ſervice, by ſhewing them, as I did in full council, with what precipitation they had formed their firſt reſolves: I convinced them, that the different ſupplies granted voluntarily each year by his majeſty to the States, did not amount to near ſo large as that they now demanded of him: that the towns they offered were not upon examination a ſufficient ſecurity for our money. In a word, I taxed, with ſtill more ſatisfaction on their part than my own, all the arguments they had urged with ignorance and abſurdity. This was an extraordinary council, compoſed of the king, the count of Soiſſons, the chancellor Bellievre, Sillery, Chateau-neuf, Villeroi, Chateau-vieux, as captain of the guards, and myſelf. No one having any thing to reply, it was no longer debated whether the offered towns ſhould be accepted; and we confined ourſelves to the former terms of friends and allies of the United-Provinces, either offenſive or defenſive; the pretext of which, as expreſſed in the treaty, for the States would have it one, was to make peace between them and the king of Spain.

The States, to whom this artful management gave a fair colour for throwing the blame upon us, would not admit the change; but abſolutely declared, that ſince they were refuſed the money they had occaſion for, after having been promiſed it, they were reduced to the neceſſity of making peace with their enemy, and that we ſhould ſee it concluded immediately. This was not what his majeſty expected,

* There can be no doubt but the United-Provinces, at that time, really deſigned, not only to put themſelves under the protection of France, but even to ſubmit to its ſovereignty. See their deliberation on this affair in Vittorio Siri (Mem. Recond. vol. I. page 418): but ſince it was neceſſity alone which compelled them to it, this diſpoſition could not be very ſincere: nor would they have continued in it long. I apprehend the beſt meaſures which could be followed, were thoſe the duke of Sully prevailed on the council to take.

who

who had promiſed himſelf he ſhould be able to keep things as they were a conſiderable time longer, by giving the Dutch the ſame ſupplies and aſſiſtances as uſual; and had for that purpoſe advanced them the ſum of ſix hundred thouſand livres at the beginning of the year: but they took his money without altering their deſign of a ceſſation of arms. And it was apparently to prevent the reproaches they had reaſon to expect from us, that we were again importuned with the ſame propoſals of towns given in hoſtage, and of ſubmiſſion to the French domination, which they knew we had no inclination to accept. They likewiſe endeavoured to get a more conſiderable ſum of money from us. Aërſens, on his return to Paris the beginning of April, had the aſſurance to demand a farther ſum of two hundred thouſand livres. Henry had his revenge; but, although he refuſed Aërſens, he neglected no other means to prevail upon the States to ſuſpend their reſolution of an accommodation, notwithſtanding, he ſaid, that from that moment it was but too clear to him that the point was already fixed on amongſt them. 1607.

Preaux and Roſſy had already been commiſſioned by the king to make ſome repreſentations to the States upon this ſubject. His majeſty, who looked upon it as a piece of neceſſary policy to have ſome perſon, on his part, to aſſiſt at the general aſſembly of the States, which had been ſummoned to meet on the 6th of May, and in which they were to appoint deputies to acquaint him with their motives for agreeing to a ceſſation of arms, thought proper to order me to ſend Buzenval thither again with the utmoſt ſpeed, and aſſociated Jeannin with him in the commiſſion. Their inſtructions differed but little from thoſe which had been given to La-Boderie on the ſubject of the ſuſpenſion of arms. I delivered to Buzenval his appointments, as formerly, for ſix months, comprehending only the expences which Franchemen, his ſecretary, might have been at in his maſter's abſence. Antony Le Fevre de La-Boderie.

Affairs were in this ſituation when we heard the news of a great naval victory gained, on the *25th of April, by the fleet of the United-Provinces, over that of the Spaniards; and almoſt immediately after, Buzenval ſent us a relation of it, which was as follows: Alvarès Avila, the Spaniſh admiral, was ordered to cruiſe near the Streights of Gi- D. John Alvares d'Avila.

* Other hiſtorians ſay, Monday 30th of April: there are alſo ſome other differences in the accounts of the action, but of little moment. See De Thou, book cxxxviii. Le Merc. Franç. anno 1607, and other hiſtorians.

braltar,

1607. braltar, to hinder the Dutch from entering the Mediterranean, and to deprive them of the trade of the Adriatic. The Dutch, to whom this was a moſt ſenſible mortification, gave the command of ten or twelve veſſels to one of their ableſt ſeamen, named Heemſkerk, with the title of vice-admiral, and ordered him to go and reconnoitre this fleet, and attack it. Avila, tho' already near twice as ſtrong as his enemy, yet provided a reinforcement of twenty-ſix great ſhips, ſome of which were of a thouſand ton burden, and augmented the number of his troops to three thouſand five hundred men. With this acceſſion of ſtrength, he thought himſelf ſo ſecure of victory, that he brought a hundred and fifty gentlemen along with him only to be witneſſes of it. However, inſtead of ſtanding out to ſea, as he ought to have done, with ſuch certainty of ſucceſs, he poſted himſelf under the town and caſtle of Gibraltar, that he might not be obliged to fight but when he thought proper.

Jacob Heemſkerk.

Heemskerk, who had taken none of theſe precautions, no ſooner perceived that his enemy ſeemed to fear him, than he advanced to attack him, and immediately began the moſt furious battle that ever was fought in the memory of man. It laſted eight whole hours. The Dutch vice-admiral, at the beginning, attacked the veſſel in which the Spaniſh admiral was, grappled it, and was ready to board her. A cannon-ball, which wounded him in the thigh ſoon after the fight began, left him only an hour's life, during which, and till within a moment of his death, he continued to give orders as if he felt no pain. When he found himſelf ready to expire, he delivered his ſword to his lieutenant, obliging him, and all that were with him, to bind themſelves by an oath, either to conquer or die. The lieutenant cauſed the ſame oath to be taken by the people in all the other veſſels, where nothing was heard but a general cry of "Victory or death." At length, the Dutch were victorious; they had loſt only two veſſels, and about two hundred and fifty men: the Spaniards loſt ſixteen ſhips; three were conſumed by fire, and the others, among which was the admiral's ſhip, run aground. Avila, with thirty-five captains, fifty of his volunteers, and two thouſand eight hundred ſoldiers, loſt their lives in the fight; a memorable action, which was not only the ſource of tears and affliction to many widows and private perſons, but filled all Spain with horror.

This, indeed, was finiſhing the war by a glorious ſtroke; for the negotiations were not laid aſide, but were probably puſhed on with the greater vigour for it. At firſt, they would have had them conſidered

dered as measures proposed only by the marquis Spinola, or, at most, by the archduke, without any mention made of the king of Spain: and some persons were weak enough to believe, that the whole affair was conducted without the participation of his catholic majesty. But a very little reflection would have convinced them, that it was not at all probable, that either Spinola or the archduke would have ventured to negotiate with the mortal enemies of Spain, either for a peace or a truce of any length, for both were talked of, without, at least, the secret consent of the king of Spain, or of those that governed him. This prince had already resolved upon it, as afterwards appeared; and if any perplexity was observed, it proceeded either from the nature of the business itself, or from the dilatoriness of the council of Madrid; or, perhaps, from those to whom, for form's sake, he thought himself obliged to communicate his resolution, which was not without some danger for Spain, and consequently only taken up through an urgent necessity. 1607.

That this peace would, and would not, be agreed to, was obstinately debated in France till the very moment that it was concluded. The king wrote me his opinion of the dispatches he received from the Low-Countries, and sent them regularly to Villeroi, Sillery, and me, to be examined in a kind of council. The most important of these dispatches was that which he received the latter end of May, importing, that in Flanders they waited for nothing to conclude the articles, but a promise from the king of Spain to satisfy whatever should be determined by the archduke, or by Spinola and the Dutch agents: that the marquis's secretary, who had passed through Paris some days before, was gone to require this engagement, with the revocation of Don Diego D'Ibarra, which it was said he had actually procured. To the account of which Henry gave me of those proceedings, in a letter he wrote to me from Monceaux, the 24th of May, I answered, that he might look upon the ratification of Spain as a thing absolutely certain, and consequently the peace or a long truce: that apparently it would be under this last title, as most proper to conceal the shame of the Spaniards, that the agreement would be made. To which I added, agreeable to what I had said before, that Spain yielded to necessity, taking it for granted, that she did not, under this step, conceal a snare by which she hoped one day to regain all that she now sacrificed to the exigence of her affairs.

Spinola's secretary had no commission for the scheme of ratification, as had been reported; for otherways it would certainly have appeared

1607. rived at Flanders, and even at Paris, before the end of July, as Henry had expected: either new obſtacles were raiſed, or Spain, for other reaſons, thought proper to delay it for ſome time longer, ſince it appeared not to be dated till the 18th of September. I was among the firſt that knew it, from the archduke's ambaſſador, who afterwards cauſed the report to be ſpread at Paris, with circumſtances very favourable for the Spaniards, which Henry would not believe. The Spaniards, ſaid he, if it had been true, would not have been ſo long without ſaying it. I wrote him, at Fontainebleau, an account of what the ambaſſador had ſaid to me upon this ſubject; and my anſwer to him, the plainneſs of which highly pleaſed his majeſty. The firſt diſpatch that was expected from Holland, and which came, at length, on the 14th of October, ſhewed us exactly what we ought to think of this paper, which was wiſhed for with ſo much impatience.

By this his catholic majeſty not only approved of the treaty for the ſuſpenſion of arms, which had been made by the archduke, but likewiſe engaged his royal word to ratify all that ſhould be concluded by this prince, or his agents, with the council of the United-Provinces, either for a peace, or a long truce, leaving the choice to them, as if it had been ſettled and concluded by himſelf. He promiſed to uſe his whole authority in enforcing the ſtrict obſervation of it throughout all his dominions, under a great penalty; providing only, that if nothing ſhould be concluded upon by the negotiators, the preſent treaty ſhould be deemed null, and neither of the parties be capable of demanding any other right from it, than that which they had before; and that every thing ſhould remain in the ſame ſtate they were at the time of the preſent ratification. It was written and ſigned in Spaniſh, "Yo el "Rey," and in a placart, with which the States were offended: but they were well enough ſatisfied with the form, except only that they ſtill objected to theſe words: "Without prejudicing the rights of the par-"ties," which were expreſſed upon the ſuppoſition that nothing would be concluded. They raiſed ſtill more difficulty about its being ſtipulated, that the preſent regulation ſhould take place, as well with regard to religion, as to policy and government; believing that this clauſe was inſerted to diſpute with them the rights of real ſovereigns of the eccleſiaſtic police: but the paper was, by the deputies from France and England, whoſe advice they aſked concerning it, judged fit to be received. Jeannin, who ſought to make the name of his maſter as conſiderable as he could, told him, that the king would never be brought to approve

prove of their breaking off the treaty for a trifle, after having acceded to all, when, if the matter was well conſidered, it would be found that they engaged for nothing more than what they had themſelves a deſire to do. Therefore, it was his advice to them, that all the favours they granted to the catholics in their republic, ſhould appear rather to proceed from themſelves, or through the interpoſition of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, than by virtue of a contract made with the archdukes and with Spain. 1607.

This was the ratification that had made ſo much noiſe*. Henry, when he ſent me a copy of it by young Lomenie, wrote to me in theſe words: "Time will unfold to us what advantages either party "will draw from it. Prince Maurice already talks as if he would not "receive it; and that it would likewiſe be rejected in Zealand." The truce, in which this negotiation ended at laſt, was neither completed nor publiſhed till the beginning of the year 1609, many different obſtacles having kept it ſuſpended during the whole courſe of the year 1608. But, not to anticipate matters, let us content ourſelves with ſaying that in this it produced a total ceſſation of hoſtilities, during which they ſeriouſly negotiated a peace. The king ſtill kept Jeannin and Prieux † at Holland. The king of England had alſo a deputy reſiding there. His conduct, with thoſe people, ſufficiently made known his character, ſuch as I have already painted it. There was nothing to hinder him from humbling a power which was odious to him; France, although ſhe could ſubſiſt without her neighbours better than any other crown, pointed out the way to him, and offered to ſhew the example: but what can be expected from perſons who neither know how to ſeize opportunities as they offer, to execute any thing boldly, or even to deſire any thing with ſteadineſs?

Upon notice given by De-Vic, that in contempt of treaties, and notwithſtanding repeated declarations from the archdukes, our neighbours continued building the fort of Rebuy, which would be ſoon in

* See De-Thou, Le Merc. Franc. and other hiſtorians, anno 1607, and alſo the 9981ſt vol. of the king's MSS. which contains many curious pieces on the affairs of the United Netherlands.

† Monſ. de Buzenval died at Leyden, the 23d of September; a man of great reputation, as well in France as in other nations. "To do honour to his worth "and merit, ſay the Memoirs de l'Hiſ-"toire de France, the ſtates-general "defrayed the expences of his funeral, "which was performed with the ſame "pomp and ceremony as the prince of "Orange's had been."

1607. a condition of defence; the king ſent orders to that vice-admiral to ſend ſome troops thither, who ſurpriſed the workmen, and threw down all that they had built, without killing or wounding any perſon whatever. "Our neighbours," ſaid Villeroi, in a letter to me, "have reaſon to be offended: but it is better, that they ſhould be petitioners, and complain, than that we ſhould."

The Griſons, at length, determined to ſhow the Spaniards ſomewhat leſs reſpect, after having too long ſubmitted to ſooth and court them. The efforts which were made by the mutineers amongſt them, to baniſh the proteſtants, and to reduce the whole country to the Spaniſh yoke, ended in a real ſedition, in which the ſenate diſcovered, that the count of Fuentes had made the biſhop of Coire and his adherents play the chief parts, by means of two penſioners of Spain, who bore all the puniſhment: they were ſeized and delivered up to the ſecular power, which performed a ſpeedy and exemplary piece of juſtice upon them. The leagues, at the ſame time, cauſed the articles of Milan to be cancelled, the ſole tye that bound them to Spain, and ſolemnly confirmed their alliances with France, and the Venetians: after this bold ſtroke, the Griſons became more than ever ſenſible how neceſſary the advice and aſſiſtance of his moſt chriſtian majeſty was to them. The courier, who came to make theſe two requeſts, brought this good news in ſix days after he quitted the Valteline.

Although the count of Fuentes, in public, talked of nothing but revenging his maſter, and affected to make great preparations in Germany and Switzerland: yet France was not alarmed, being perſuaded, that if, by theſe vain threats, he could drive off any deciſion concerning the affair of the Valteline, he would not inſiſt very obſtinately on that of the two penſioners, and of the cancelled articles. The emperor Rodolph had ſufficient employment upon his hands in his own dominions: having attempted to deprive the proteſtants of Tranſilvania of liberty of conſcience, a Tranſilvanian, named Boſtkay, had put himſelf at their head, and handled the imperial troops ſo roughly, that the emperor, being apprehenſive that the male-contents would be joined by the Turks, found himſelf obliged to leave thoſe people in quiet, and to grant to Boſtkay the lordſhip of the country.

With regard to the Swiſs cantons, Spain had reaſon to believe, that the leagues would not have acted in the manner they had done, without

without the concurrence of thoſe cantons which were in alliance with the duchy of Milan. 1607.

The king gave the Griſons to underſtand, that he would not abandon them; he made the ſame promiſe to the little republic of Geneva, which he thought might be of ſome uſe to him in his great deſigns; he ſent her money to maintain her forces, and to make a plentiful proviſion of ammunition. His majeſty did ſtill more; for he ſent letters to Geneva, filled with expreſſions of his regard for that city, by Beaſſe, colonel of the regiment of Navarre, and governor of the city and caſtle of Bourg, and offered them this officer to aſſiſt them in the conduct of their enterprizes; and did not ſcruple to communicate to them his deſign of making Geneva a magazine of cannon, and all kinds of warlike ſtores; as well to ſerve their occaſions, as thoſe which his majeſty might have for them in thoſe cantons. On the 21ſt of April, the republic returned the king an anſwer full of acknowledgments for the teſtimonies he gave them of his goodneſs, and promiſes of giving him the moſt exact informations of whatever their common enemies might practiſe againſt them. Notwithſtanding theſe mutual good offices between the king and the republic of Geneva, Henry did not break with the duke of Savoy; but, on the contrary, the count of Garmare, envoy from this prince, having taken leave of the king at Fontainebleau, the latter end of October, with an intention to repaſs the Alps, with the marquis De-Beuillaque, envoy from the grand duke of Tuſcany, without taking their rout through Paris (at leaſt as the king thought, his majeſty wrote to me, deſiring that I would ſend him two crochets of precious ſtones, each valued at a thouſand crowns, to preſent them with.

England was not without her troubles this year. His Britannic majeſty, after putting to death the two jeſuits, Garnet and Oldicorne, the chief actors in the plot laid againſt his perſon, which has been already mentioned in the preceding year, thought it neceſſary to have the oath of fidelity again adminiſtred to all his ſubjects, which was done with ſome circumſtances derogatory to the honour and power of the pope, on whom this prince laid the blame of the plot. This ſo highly offended his holineſs, that he ſent a brief into England, by which all the catholics there were prohibited from taking this oath.

1607. The holy father was juſt then happily delivered from the perplexity into which his quarrel with the Venetians had thrown him: the king terminated this affair to the ſatisfaction of both parties, by the cardinal Joyeuſe, who, in the month of April, ſent his equerry to his majeſty, with the news and the conditions. The republic *, making the firſt advances, as became them, reſigned, through the interpoſition of the French ambaſſador, the two eccleſiaſtics who were priſoners, into the hands of a perſon appointed by the pope to receive them, without any proteſtation that could be diſpleaſing to his holineſs. They, likewiſe, revoked all they had done againſt the interdict, upon his majeſty's aſſuring them, that the pope would afterwards recal this interdict in the moſt gracious form. All this was done by cardinal Joyeuſe, without any farther interpoſition of the Spaniſh ambaſſadors, than what he thought fit to allow them, which greatly enhanced the glory his majeſty acquired by this reconciliation †. Henry, being deſirous of giving ſome gratuity to cardinal Aldobrandin, left the manner of it to me: as I had ſome reaſon to believe that his eminence would be better pleaſed with money than rings and jewels, I decided for a penſion rather than a preſent.

Cardinal Barberini, returning to Rome from his nunciature, thought himſelf ſo much obliged to me for the ſervices I had rendered

* According to other hiſtorians, the doge and ſenate would not give the pope any ſatisfaction; nor receive abſolution, much leſs ſue for it. And Paul V. was extremely mortified at the indifference wherewith what he would have had eſteemed as a favour, was received at Venice. Freſne-Canaye ſaid, on his returning from his embaſſy, that the pope was treated with no more reſpect at Venice than at Geneva. It is certain, at leaſt, that all his endeavours to reſtore the jeſuits were uſeleſs. "This affair, ſays Monſ. de Pé-"réfixe, retarded the accommodation for "ſome months, and was near breaking it "off entirely: for the pope, conſidering "they had been driven out on his account, "abſolutely inſiſted, that the ſenate ſhould "reſtore them their houſes and effects: "the ſenate, on the contrary, were ob-"ſtinately reſolved to riſque every thing "rather than conſent to it. At laſt, the "pope, perſuaded by the eloquence of "the cardinal du Perron, conceived it "would be more adviſeable to make ſome "conceſſions in this point, than to run "the hazard of embroiling all Chriſten-"dom; ſo that they remained baniſhed "from the Venetian territories. Pope "Alexander VII. by his interceſſion, has "re-eſtabliſhed them there." Péréfixe, Journal de L'Etoile, Memoires pour l'Hiſtoire de France, Mercure François, Matthieu, &c. anno 1607.

† "It was I, ſaid Henry IV. who "made the peace of Italy." The Mercure François obſerves, that Francis de Caſtro, and Don Inigo de Cardenas, miniſters from Spain at Rome, in vain endeavoured to prevail on the pope to appoint cardinal Zepula aſſociate to cardinal de Joyeuſe, anno 1607.

him,

him, that he talked of them publicly in terms of the higheſt acknowledgment, which, in the month of November, procured me a moſt obliging brief from Paul V. His holineſs, at leaſt, made this a pretence for writing to me, and recommending the perſon who was to ſucceed Barberini to my favour, who was the elu of the church of Mont-Politian. I ſhall not relate here either the acknowledgements made me by his holineſs, or the praiſes, kind offers, and other civilities with which his letter was filled, ſince this would be only to repeat what I have already ſaid, on occaſion of the brief ſent me formerly by Clement VIII. both which contained the moſt earneſt entreaties, and moſt pathetic exhortations, to embrace the Roman catholic religion. I anſwered Paul V. in the ſame manner as I had done his predeceſſor, in terms the moſt polite, reſpectful, and ſatisfactory, I could imagine; except only, that I obſerved a profound ſilence upon the article of my change of religion. 1607.

But let us now return from this detail of foreign affairs to thoſe of the government, and begin with the finances, after having premiſed, in the firſt place, that the finances of Navarre * were this year reunited to thoſe of France; ſo that we ſhall no longer treat of them ſeparately. And, ſecondly, that the long ſtay his majeſty made in his palaces without Paris, and at a diſtance from his council, was the cauſe that almoſt all buſineſs was tranſacted by letters. His majeſty choſe rather to take this trouble upon him, than to oblige his ſecretaries and other people in office to do buſineſs near his perſon. He, likewiſe, granted the ſame indulgence to thoſe whoſe employments, tho' of another kind, required their attendance on him. His majeſty's ſervice was never leſs troubleſome or expenſive to the inferior officers of the crown.

The king, at a viſit he made me in the arſenal, ſpeaking of the regulations to be made in the finances for the preſent year, deſired I would give him a ſummary account of all the money I had paid ſince I had governed the finances, to the perſons named in the following calculation, which I preſented to him, eight days afterwards, in this

* The author here undoubtedly means to ſpeak of the edict, tho' it was not paſt till 1609, whereby the demeſnes, and all the eſtates which belonged to Henry IV. as king of Navarre, and which, till that time, had always been kept ſeparate from the crown of France, becauſe that prince had granted the income thereof to his ſiſter Catherine, were united to it in an unalienated perpetuity, &c. Theſe eſtates comprehend the duchies of Vendôme and Albret; the earldom of Foix, Armagnac, Bigorre, Gaure, Merle, Beaumont, La Ferre, the vicounty of Limoge, and other rights and revenues. See the above-mentioned hiſtorians.

form:

1607. form: To the Swiſs cantons, and leagues of the Griſons, ſeventeen millions three hundred and fifty thouſand livres; debt to England in money given to the United Provinces, ſix millions nine hundred and fifty thouſand livres; to ſeveral princes of Germany, four millions eight hundred and ninety ſeven thouſand livres; to the grand duke of Tuſcany, and other Italian princes, eighteen thouſand livres; to Gondy, Zamet, Cenamy, and other contractors, for debts due upon ſalt and the large farms, four millions eight hundred thouſand livres; for debts contracted during the league, thirteen millions ſeven hundred and ſeventy thouſand livres; for debts due to the province of Dauphiné, Lyonnois, Languedoc, &c. paid out of the money ariſing from the Gabelle, four millions ſeven hundred twenty-eight thouſand livres; debts to ſeveral perſons, paid from the money ariſing from any branch of the royal revenue, four millions eight hundred thirty ſix thouſand ſix hundred livres; to others, comprehended in a different account, four millions thirty-eight thouſand three hundred livres; in preſents made by his majeſty, ſix millions forty-two thouſand three hundred livres; for purchaſing arms, ammunition, and furniture of ordnance depoſited in the magazines, twelve millions; for churches, and other buildings, ſix millions one hundred and fifty thouſand livres; repairs and fortifications of towns, five millions ſeven hundred and eighty-five thouſand livres; for pavements, bridges, cauſeways, &c. four millions eight hundred and fifty-five thouſand livres; jewels and furniture purchaſed by his majeſty, one million eight hundred thouſand livres; total, eighty-ſeven millions, nine hundred and two thouſand two hundred livres.

Queen Margaret had inherited, from the queen her mother, very conſiderable eſtates*, of which ſhe made a ceſſion to M. the Dauphin. The annual rent of theſe eſtates, at the time ſhe reſigned them, amounted to twenty-four thouſand three hundred and ſeventy livres: in letting out leaſes, I increaſed them to thirty thouſand three hundred and ſixty livres. I alſo recovered a capital of one hundred and ſeventy thouſand three hundred livres, which produced yearly the ſum of thirteen thouſand and three hundred livres, that had been alienated, either by the deceaſed queen, or by Margaret herſelf. I could have wiſhed to have recovered another part of thoſe eſtates, worth ninety-four thouſand livres, bringing in annually the ſum of eight thouſand three hundred and ninety-five livres; but it had been abſolutely ſold, or given away, by theſe two princeſſes.

* The particulars of theſe eſtates have been enumerated before, in ſpeaking of the ſuit betwen queen Margaret and the duke of Angouleme.

I UNDERTOOK to reunite to the crown-lands, all the regiſters and clerks-offices at the courts of Languedoc, which had been alienated. This deſign was no ſooner known, than La-Foſſe, and ſeveral other contractors, came to make me offers. The part I took was, to allow thoſe farmers to redeem them, on condition that, at the expiration of a certain number of years, during which it was agreed they ſhould enjoy them, they ſhould reſtore them quite cleared to his majeſty; a praiſe-worthy, and in ſome degree neceſſary œconomy, and authoriſed by all the laws of public and private juſtice. The contracts made with the purchaſers imparted expreſly a power of perpetual redemption for their own court; an obſervation I make here, becauſe the parliament of Toulouſe, in regiſtering the letters-patent expediated for this treaty, thought proper to except their offices and thoſe of the city. I wrote to the firſt preſident, Verdun, that the king was juſtly incenſed at this contempt of the laws, which was ſtill more extraordinary in perſons appointed to maintain juſtice and order; and that he would have cited the wholy body, if ſome friends of that parliament had not ſuſpended the effects of his anger, by promiſing him an entire obedience: for, indeed, what right had the parliament of Languedoc to deſire their offices ſhould be excepted from a general rule for the whole province? and, if it was the kind of treaty that diſpleaſed them, why, ſince the proprietors of theſe offices were allowed to ſell, alienate, infeof, and transfer them to others, in the ſame manner as if they had been part of their own property, would they attempt to deprive his majeſty of this right, who was become proprietor of thoſe eſtates? To this no reply could be made; and the parliament of Toulouſe remained convicted of partiality from the fact itſelf. 1607.

THE parliament of Dijon conſented to purchaſe, for the ſum of ſixty thouſand crowns, a grant for the juriſdiction of Breſſe. However, they gave themſelves no trouble about raiſing this ſum, which determined his majeſty to augment the gabelle in this province, which would, at leaſt, procure him a part of it. The parliament preſumed to ſuppreſs this augmentation by an arret, which was, indeed, cancelled by the council; but at the hazard of raiſing a ſedition among the people, who had not before murmured at this impoſt. The baron de Lux was commiſſioned by the king, to declare to the parliament of Burgundy how highly he was offended at this procedure. I adviſed his majeſty to preſcribe to that parliament a certain time for the payment of the ſum that had been promiſed by them; and, if they did not ſatisfy

1607. tisfy him, to declare, without any other form, the jurisdiction of Bresse transferred to the parliament of Dauphiné. The word parliament carries with it an idea of equity, and even wisdom; yet, in these bodies, we meet with such instances of irregularity, that one cannot help concluding, that, if infallibility may be hoped for among men, it will be found rather in one than a multitude.

I have been always scandalized at the chambers of accounts, which though established merely that the proceedings between the principal directors of the revenue, the different persons accountable, and the other receivers, might be carried on with method, integrity, and truth, have been of no other effect than to teach all the parties concerned to cheat and steal, by allowing, in the accounts which they passed, a thousand articles which were equally known to be false on one side and on the other. My scheme was to declare all the accounts which had been given in from the year 1598, exclusive, subject to review. I writ a circular letter to the chambers of accounts, the 1st of April, in which I told them, that, in conformity to the pleasure of his majesty, who desired to be satisfied concerning the conduct of all the persons entrusted with his money, I had made an exact search for the accounts audited in the council from the year 1598, and not having found such and such receipt for such and such years, which I particularised to each of the chambers, in the search that I had made into their several accounts, one of those things must have been, either that the persons, who were to pay in the public money, had neglected to give in their accounts, or that the council had omitted to keep the extracts or copies. To know which of these was true, I enjoined these chambers to have the duplicates of these accounts laid before them, to compare them with the papers of the king's council, and to draw up an extract of all that which they found contrary to the form which the king prescribed them, and which was expressly sent them every year, that no difficulty might embarrass them. I did not forget to explain to them how that extract ought to be made, with exact inclusion of all residues, salaries, costs, charges of accounts, wages, exemptions, taxations, receipts, and other things of the like nature; I ordered them to make extracts of the accounts, not only of general but of particular receivers; because his majesty had been told, that the accounts of particular receivers, not being used to be audited by the council, were those which gave room for most of the illegal prosecutions on the part of the chambers. I concluded the letter with telling them, that, in order to set this inquiry on foot, I neither sent them an edict,

edict, nor particular commissions, because they were able to do it by virtue of their office: but, if they thought farther powers necessary they need but ask them; and that they ought to think themselves obliged to his majesty, that, instead of the rigorous proceedings of a chamber of justice, or an appointment of commissioners, he employed only his ordinary officers to correct abuses; and that it was their business to requite this goodness, by giving the highest proofs of exactness and honesty. 1607.

This was an affair likely to cause a dispute between the chamber of accounts, and the treasurers, receivers, and other persons employed in the payment of the revenue, who endeavoured to turn aside the stroke by two means: first, by drawing the whole office upon the chamber of accounts; secondly, by declaring that the king had made them purchase a security, both for themselves and their under-agents, against any retrospective enquiry, by a tax of six hundred thousand livres, which had in effect been paid. There remained yet another refuge in the chamber of accounts, where we were opposed by difficulties of another kind. Those bodies pretended, as they always do, that the sovereign authority, with which they were entrusted in all affairs of the revenue, entitled them to give the last audit to all accounts, without being subject to any examination, even of the king himself. I considered this objection as no further valid than as between the chambers and myself; and I shewed his majesty, that I was willing to undertake these sovereign courts, provided that he, on his part, would give to me, to them, and the council, the necessary orders. It was not my fault that the affair stopt here.

Notwithstanding the regulation which had been made the foregoing year, for the direction of the commissioners sent into the provinces, I still received frequent complaints against them. Hanapier presented his against the commissioners of the salt-office at Buzançois. I had some of them cited before the council, where a very severe reprimand was given to Tardieu. I could never make these fellows understand, that by harrassing the people for the tax, for instance upon salt, under a false appearance of zeal for the king's profit, he lost more than he gained upon the whole, by the insolvency to which debtors were reduced; and, to tell the truth, they took this pains only for the farmers of the revenue. There was a necessity of reviving, with yet stronger injunctions, the regulation of the gabelle, that which re-

1607. gards the diſtribution of ſalt among the provinces; that which regards the tax, and that about the ſale of uncuſtomed ſalt: for there was no reaſon why the condition of collectors of the taille ſhould be made worſe, ſince it was an office in which no body entered but by force, and which almoſt no body quitted but with ruin. I, likewiſe, forbid the commiſſioners to uſe any extraordinary meaſures againſt the regiſters, notaries, ſergeants, gagers, and other public perſons; or to oblige any public officer to pay the tax of his collection, without firſt ſending to the commiſſioners-general at Paris the complete ſtate of thoſe taxes, to be examined and authoriſed. I forbid them, likewiſe, to decide any controverted caſe without applying to the council. When theſe diſpoſitions were formed upon ſuch views, it was not my intereſt that they ſhould be kept ſecret, as they commonly are, between the miniſters and the perſons intereſted. By the ſame act which obliged Du-Monceau the commiſſioner of Berry to obſerve them, I made them known likewiſe to marechal de La Châtre, and to the treaſurers of France, with whom I ordered him to act in concert.

This province appeared to me to want ſome regulation with regard to the marſhalſeys; part of the revenues appointed for their maintenance being embezzled, or returned to the office of the receiver-general, the remainder was ſcarce ſufficient to ſupport a ſmall number of archers: places where they were ſent to reſide were choſen with ſo little judgment, that in ſome, where they were moſt neceſſary, none were ſettled, as in Vatan, Iſſoudun, Argenton, Châteauroux, La-Châtre, and Saint Amand, where the royal authority was not well reſpected, and at the ſame time the middle of the province, where they were almoſt uſeleſs, was quite over-run with them. After conſulting the treaſurers of the province about a new method of diſtributing theſe guards, I ſent them my regulation on this head. The court of election of Saint Amand being partly for Bourbonnois, they granted to the vice ſeneſchal of this province a right of placing there a lieutenant and a brigade, as being of little importance for the public good, on whom this privilege was conferred.

I obliged thoſe who had been ſecurity for the receivers of the depoſits of the parliaments of Paris and Bordeaux, to bring in, within four months, the declarations of theſe receivers to the office of Meſſieurs de Maiſſes, Pont-carré, Caumarten, and Maupeou, appointed for that purpoſe;

pose; and I declared, with their consent, these offices reunited to the domaine sixteen years after that date. 1607.

Cusse and Marigné, appointed for the reimbursement of the six hundred thousand livres lent to the king, in the year 1598, by the province of Brittany, sent me their final account of receipt and expence; or rather an abstract, and an inaccurate abridgement, by which I found, that, for reimbursing six hundred thousand franks, they acknowledged to have received and given out near one million three hundred and forty thousand livres. I was already informed, by the complaints that were sent me from that province, of the nature of that estimate, and severely reproved those by whom it was given in. I also prosecuted several persons for thefts which Vitry discovered to me in Guienne †.

When it was known that the king designed to redeem several parts of his domaine, many contractors came and offered themselves for that purpose; one of them sent to enquire, whether the council would admit him to treat for a share of a hundred and fifty thousand livres: but he would neither discover his name, nor declare what part of the domaine, nor even the conditions that he would treat upon, only that those conditions were very advantageous for his majesty; because he neither desired a lease for a long time, nor any new regulations, but to take every thing upon the footing it was at present. He made it an express condition, that, after he had declared himself, no one should be allowed to outbid him, without paying him two hundred thousand livres. The singularity of this proposal did not hinder the council from accepting it; but the king insisted upon this person's giv-

† One of the principal acts of justice against the financiers, during the duke of Sully's ministry, was the imprisonment and punishment of the famous contractor L'Argentier. The Memoirs of the history of France, after having related (vol. II. p. 271.) his misdemeanours and embezzlements, adds the following story: "The "last time the king was going to Fontaine-"bleau, L'Argentier coming to take his "leave of his majesty, told him, he "would soon follow him thither to kiss "his hand, and receive his commands; "and added, that journey would cost "him ten thousand crowns. *Ventre saint "gris*, answered his majesty, (his usual "oath) that is too much for a journey "from Paris to Fontainebleau. Yes, sir, "replied L'Argentier; but I have, with "your majesty's leave, something else to "do there: for I propose to take a model "of the front of your house, in order to "have one of mine in Champagne built on "the same plan; at which the king laugh-"ing, took no further notice of it at that "time: but when news was brought him "of L'Argentier's imprisonment in the "Chatelet, How, says he, is he going to "take a model of the front of the Cha-"telet?"

1607. ing in his name, and explaining himſelf, at leaſt to the time and nature of the redemption, to him, the chancellor, and me. His majeſty was apprehenſive, that this unknown contractor might condition for a part of the domaine which was in the hands of ſome perſons from whom it might not be convenient to take it. A man, named Longuet, preſented likewiſe, on this ſubject, a long memorial, which the king ſent me, as well as the propoſals that were lately made him by the farmers of the aids at Fontainbleau, ſaying that he ſuſpected, that thoſe who came in this manner to make him propoſals, in my abſence, deſigned to impoſe upon him.

The duke of Nevers preſented a petition to the council, for ſuppreſſing the ſalt-office eſtabliſhed in Rethelois, at the ſolicitation of the ducheſs his mother, to whom the king had given the profits of this office, for a certain ſum agreed on between them. I was obliged to apply to the treaſurers of Champagne to come at a certain knowledge of this affair, which had not been tranſacted in my time; and I found, without much difficulty, the original grant to the ducheſs of Nevers. The king, when he ſaw it, was of opinion, that this family could have no farther demand upon him. However he ſent it to me with orders to make an exact calculation, and if any money remained due to the duke of Nevers, to pay it; and propoſed, inſtead of ſuppreſſing this part of the revenue, to improve it as I had done the others. His majeſty had two law-ſuits with this houſe for the inheritances of thoſe of Foix and d'Albret, each party having a claim of millions upon the other. This affair was thought to be very perplexed: but, when I got the writings into my hands, I drew up a memorial ſo ſuccinct and clear, that the king was ſoon convinced I had not been miſtaken when I offered it as my opinion, that each party would be obliged to come greatly down in his demands.

The people of Lyons had likewiſe a proceſs in the council againſt Feydeau. They repreſented to his majeſty, that the council's refuſing to deliver them an arret, which they had already obtained, was a mortal injury to their trade. The king referred them to me, and I ſoon did their buſineſs. The good or ill done to ſuch a city as Lyons is of importance to the whole kingdom. For this piece of ſervice, the city of Lyons ſent me her thanks by the mayor and ſheriffs.

Upon a report ſent me by the treaſurers of Beziers, of the manner in which the tax of the marc d'or was levied, I cauſed an arret of council

council for ſuſpending this levy to be granted. I know not what the king was made to believe concerning it: but his majeſty wrote to me not to let this arret be ſigned; or if it was, not to give notice of it without an order from him; not that he intended to authoriſe the abuſes that were committed in levying this tax, but he was willing, at leaſt, to know what they were. However, thoſe abuſes ſo ſtrongly affected the money ariſing from it, that I was perſuaded if the king blamed us for any thing, it would be for having ſo long delayed to provide ſome remedy againſt them. 1607.

But I was afterwards charged with a fault ſtill more grievous in relation to the council: my enemies endeavoured to perſuade the king that I introduced none into it but perſons who, as they ſaid, neither merited nor had any regard to the duties of their employment; and that this procedure occaſioned great confuſion in the council. If what they had alledged had been true, I confeſs I ſhould have deſerved ſomething more than thoſe reproaches his majeſty made me, as I ſhould have baſely abuſed that confidence with which he had entruſted the whole management of the finances to my care. As I examined into the occaſion of ſuch a report, I judged that it could only be the ſcheme I had formed of joining to that great number of maſters of requeſts, and other men of the robe, of whom the council was generally compoſed, ſome men of the ſword, choſen from among thoſe who had commiſſions to be preſent at them upon extraordinary occaſions. And it is certain, that I never had an opportunity of talking on this ſubject to the princes, dukes, peers, and other officers of the crown, in whom I obſerved a ſtrength of judgment and capacity, and that I did not endeavour to inſpire them with an inclination for this employment, which, through a blind prejudice, they thought unworthy of their birth. He only is a truly great man who knows how to be uſeful to his country at all times, and on all occaſions: and what is baſeneſs but tarniſhing by a ſoft and effeminate life, ſuch as perſons of quality in France lead during the peace, all the glory which they had been able to acquire in war?

Far from ſuppoſing that I had done wrong by endeavouring to undeceive all thoſe uſeleſs voluptuaries of the court, I avowed to the king, that it had been my intention, and thought it my duty, to ſettle this matter with his majeſty, although by letters; and, conſequently with no great conveniency. I drew out a plan of a new council, and ſent it to the king, in which four men of the ſword were to ſupply the places of as many

1607. many counſellors out of the eight of which it was compoſed. To introduce this change in the moſt effectual manner, it was neceſſary to have a liſt of thoſe perſons in the kingdom beſt qualified for ſuch an office, who had exceeded thirty years of age, out of which twenty ſhould be choſen, which, allowing five for each quarter, would always keep the council complete. Theſe were to attend conſtantly three mornings in a week where the council was held; and if they failed, were to be blotted out of the liſt, and their places given to others. What immenſe difference between a body thus compoſed, and an aſſembly where every member conducts himſelf by arts which have been the whole ſtudy of his life!

I shall not enter here into a particular detail of all that I deſigned to do. I only obſerved to the king, that if this project gave him as much pleaſure as it did me, he would be ſtill more ſatisfied with that general rule, which I believed I could ſo well regulate, as to make it poſſible for all the ſecrets of the ſtate to be ſafely depoſited with ſo many perſons of different tempers, underſtandings, and ſtations. The king was going to hunt when he received my letter. He read it, however, twice over, and ſent me word he would conſider of my propoſal: but all my endeavours to bring him over to my opinion proved ineffectual. The authoriſing great abuſes is not the worſt conſequences of a bad cuſtom; for thoſe may be at all times oppoſed with ſucceſs: but it is the giving credit to certain abuſes leſs palpable, and concealing them under a maſque of wiſdom and an appearance of public utility, ſo as to draw the approbation of princes of the beſt underſtanding. Theſe cannot be deſtroyed but after a long chain of reflections *, and applying remedies to them ſlowly, and one after the other: but the life of man is too ſhort to afford him leiſure for rooting up all of them. This was not the only occaſion on which his majeſty was not of the ſame opinion with me. He had been perſuaded to erect a new chamber of juſtice againſt the financiers, a work that long experince had pronounced uſeleſs and liable to abuſes; but ſtill highly agreeable to this prince, who not chuſing to apply any part of his ordinary revenues to his expences in play, buildings, miſtreſſes, and other

* Certainly nothing can be truer than what the author ſays here; nor can any thing be more happily imagined than this project, to deſtroy thoſe prejudices which ſtill ſubſiſt amongſt the nobility of France, even in this enlightened age. Why ſhould the finances, trade, or other functions becoming a good patriot, be deemed more degrading, than an acquaintance with the belles lettres, which the nobility are not aſhamed to cultivate? We may hope time will remove theſe prejudices.

things

things of that nature, which, as I have already ſaid, were very conſider- 1607.
able, was glad to find them ſupplied by a ſum of money ready pro-
vided to his hand, and which the intereſted courtiers always repre-
ſented much greater than he found it to be. I was ſo grieved to ſee
Henry ſtill the dupe of theſe people, that I ſhewed my reſentment of it
in full court: my plainneſs threw the king into ſuch an extreme rage
with me, that my enemies conceived great hopes of my diſgrace. The
adventure of the arſenal, which I have already related, added to this,
raiſed them ſtill higher. But, notwithſtanding all this, I could not
hinder myſelf from openly reproving the commiſſioners of this cham-
ber, when I ſaw them pretend ignorance of the chief criminals, and
puniſh with no leſs oſtentation than ſeverity ſuch as were guilty of ſlight
miſdemeanors.

Mangot, one of the commiſſioners, acting as king's counſel, hav-
ing delivered an opinion contrary to particular orders he had received
from the king, upon an affair which I have now forgot, I made him
ſenſible that in me he had an overſeer who was determined to let no-
thing paſs. He complained of me to his majeſty, and prevailed upon
his brethren to join with him, at leaſt ſo it was reported to me; and
with circumſtances ſo poſitive, that I could have no reaſon to doubt the
truth of what I was told. The king did not, indeed, mention the af-
fair to me; but this was far from being a proof that he had not been
informed of it. I therefore, thought it neceſſary to give his majeſty
a full relation of all I had ſaid to Mangot, that I might not ſuffer his
reſentment to go ſo far as I had ſometimes experienced. I had told
Mangot, that I would not ſubmit to thoſe pretended orders from the
king unleſs they were ſhewn to me. It was not difficult to give a bad turn
to theſe words. When I wrote to his majeſty, I thanked him for not
giving credit to the reports my enemies had made to him of me: I aſſured
him, that the heat I diſcovered on that occaſion proceeded only from
my grief at ſeeing his orders diſobeyed by people who expected that he
ſhould deſpoil himſelf of his whole authority in favour of them, and
his intereſts ſacrificed to every conſideration. I concluded with earneſt
entreaties that he would pardon me, if, contrary to my intention, I had
done any thing to diſpleaſe him.

However, I had been deceived in ſuppoſing he had heard of this
affair: he told me in his anſwer that he was greatly ſurpriſed to hear the
firſt news of this quarrel from me; that if thoſe men had ſpoken to
him, he would have replied, as a maſter who loves his ſervant; that
all

1607. all this was only an artifice to inflame me and force me to complain, and by that means create ſome miſunderſtanding between us. "I ſwear "to you, added Henry, that I have never heard this affair mentioned: "your temper is a little precipitate, and I perceive by your letter that "you believe all that has been ſaid to you. However report is an ab- "ſolute lyar: moderate your reſentment, and be not ſo eaſily prevailed "upon to believe all the ſtories that are brought to you. By indiffe- "rence, you will revenge yourſelf on thoſe who envy and hate you, "for the affection I bear you. This is the firſt time that I have taken "a pen into my hand ſince this laſt fit of the gout. My reſentment "againſt theſe ſlanderers has ſurmounted my pain."

Caumartin had managed with ſuch prudence and œconomy the money he was entruſted with to diſtribute among the Swiſs cantons, that he found means to reſerve thirty thouſand crowns each year, with which he cleared other debts, by making a compoſition with the creditors. Such an example of juſtice and probity ought not to be paſſed over in ſilence; and is ſo much the more laudable, as that if he had ſought a plauſible pretence for turning part of this ſum to his own profit, nothing was more eaſy than to make the Swiſs murmur at his parſimony. I did not fail to mention this conduct with all the praiſes it deſerved to Du-Refuge, who ſucceeded Caumartin.

The king had lately raiſed a company of gendarmes, to be commanded by the duke of Orleans, which he thought ſo fine, and ſo well mounted, when he went to review them, that he advanced them, together with that of the queen, a year's pay. He left it to my choice to take the two hundred thouſand livres, which this muſter coſt him, out of the ſix hundred thouſand which were every year brought into the treaſury from the profits of the taille; or that the treaſury, deducting that ſum from the money appropriated to the ordinary expences of war, ſhould pay it back again at the uſual time of paying thoſe companies.

With regard to the duties of my other employments, the moſt conſiderable, relating to the ordnance, was providing the neceſſary furniture for an armament of galleys; a work with which the king was highly pleaſed. However, I was willing to ſpare him part of the expence. In ſearching amongſt the old papers of my predeceſſors in the poſt of grand maſter of the ordnance, I found, that in the former reigns, many pieces of artillery had been given to the captains of the galleys, which

which they had obliged themſelves to reſtore when required; but had not done it. The council, to whom I communicated this diſcovery, agreed with me that we might commence a law-ſuit againſt the heirs of thoſe captains, and force them to make reſtitution of the pieces of ordnance lent to their predeceſſors: but, as ſeveral perſons of quality were intereſted in this proſecution, I ſent the duke of Rohan to his majeſty to ask his permiſſion for it; ſending him, at the ſame time, a paper I had drawn up concerning this affair. The king conſented that the ſuit ſhould be begun, but not carried on with all the rigour it might have been; which rendered all my trouble fruitleſs. It was always my opinion, that it would have been more proper for Henry to have ſeemed ignorant of the fact, than to have made attempts to have recovered thoſe pieces of ordnance, and afterwards to deſiſt from them. 1607.

I ORDERED plans to be taken of all the fortreſſes and coaſts of Brittany, which I ſent to his majeſty, that he might ſee what was neceſſary to be done there. I loſt this year two excellent engineers, Bonnefort and the younger Erard, who was already not inferior to his father: their deaths grieved me extremely. I entreated the king not to diſpoſe of their places, for which ſolicitations were immediately made, till we had both well examined the capacity of thoſe who were candidates for them.

THE forcible carrying away the Sieur de Fontange's daughter, with which I begin the article of the police, relates alſo to my employment as grand maſter, ſince I received orders from his majeſty to ſend ſome cannon before the caſtle of Pierrefort, which Fontange, aſſiſted by his friends, beſieged in his purſuit of the raviſher. The expences of a ſiege ſoon reduced him to great diſtreſs, and obliged him to have recourſe to the king. Henry, moved with the juſtice of his cauſe, which, beſides, as the common father of his ſubjects, he could not avoid intereſting himſelf in, referred the petition and the bearer to Sillery and me, writing to me that he had juſt given orders to Du-Bourg and Nereſtan * to hold their companies in readineſs to march thither; and commanded Noailles to advance with his, in order to execute what I ſhould judge fit to be done in favour of Fontange: but that if I was of opinion he ſhould be at all the expence of the ſiege of Pierrefort, he

* Philibert de Nereſtan, captain of the king's guards, and appointed by his majeſty, the following year, grand maſter of the order of our lady of Mount Carmel and St. Lazarus.

1607. recommended it to me to follow the moſt prudent methods I could in this affair, that it might be as little burthenſome as poſſible to the people. Henry alſo referred Baumevielle to us, who had propoſed an expedient to him, which, he ſaid, had more vanity than ſolidity in it; and having employed Vanterol to ſeize a man who was ſuſpected of having entertained ſome traitorous deſigns, he ſent him to me to be paid the expences of his journey.

The good order of the police appeared to me likewiſe to be wounded by the judge of Saumur taking upon him, of his own private authority, to prohibit the exportation of grain out of the kingdom, and of ſelling it within the extent of his juriſdiction of Saumur. I got the council to cancel this ſentence, even before his majeſty was informed of it; and the officers of juſtice, by whom it was publiſhed, were ſummoned to appear and anſwer for their conduct.

The parliament of Rouen granted two arrets, which by ſome perſons were pronounced to be very good, and by others extremely unjuſt: one was upon the ſhrine of St. Romain, which is maintained in the privilege of giving a pardon for any aſſaſſination, however atrocious it might be *: the other upon the marriage of a man named Drouet,

* In favour of William de la Mothe-de Pehu, an accomplice in the murder of Francis de Montmorency, lord of Hallot, the king's lieutenant-general in Normandy, committed ſixteen years before, in a very atrocious manner, by Chriſtopher marquis of Allegre. Henry IV. calling this affair before his council, changed the pardon granted to La-Mothe, into a ſentence of baniſhment for nine years; and to pay ſeveral fines, &c. The puniſhment, in all probability, would have been more ſevere, if the youth of the criminal had not in ſome degree alleviated his crime. The king, ever ſince the year 1597, had greatly abridged the privilege of which the chapter of Rouen is poſſeſſed. This proceſs, which at that time made a great noiſe, occaſioned a more ſtrict enquiry into the nature of this queſtion. M. De-Thou, vol. IV. p. 160. Nicholas Rigault, the continuator of De-Thou, and all other men of learning, ſo far as one can judge from what is ſaid on this ſubject in the Mercure François, anno 1607. p. 179, made no difficulty to eſteem as fabulous the pretended miracle whereby St. Romain, archbiſhop of Rouen, delivered that city from the ravages of a monſter or ſerpent, commonly called the Gargouille; being aſſiſted in the enterprize by a criminal impriſoned for murder: from whence this privilege had its origin. The evidence by which it was endeavoured to prove that this privilege was really granted by ſeveral kings of France, could not ſtand the teſt of a ſtrict ſcrutiny; but was found full of errors, ſuppoſitions, and falſities, in the times and dates. It is conjectured, that this pious fable had its origin from a true miracle performed by this archbiſhop; but that it was, by ſtopping an inundation; which poetical licence, according to cuſtom, tranſformed into a monſter, beſides adorning the ſtory with many others of its uſual figures. The word Hydra, which was

auditor

auditor of the chamber of accounts, whoſe hiſtory does not merit a place in theſe memoirs. 1607.

The firſt preſident of this parliament being ſeized with a dangerous diſtemper, of which however he did not die, his majeſty ordered me to tell Jambeville, who ſolicited for this dignity, that he always deſigned it for him, but that he was not pleaſed with the eagerneſs he ſhewed to enjoy it. The office of advocate to the king in the parliament of Bourdeaux becoming vacant by the death of the Sieur de Sault, queen Margaret and D'Ornano requeſted it for the ſon of Du-Bernet, counſellor in that court; but the king refuſed them, not being willing to give this place, the importance of which the late troubles had ſufficiently ſhewn, to any one whoſe character he was not thoroughly acquainted with: but the picture I drew of Du-Bernet procured him the favour of Henry, and a grant of the place. His majeſty greatly regretted the loſs of Dinteville and Bretauville; as likewiſe that of two officers of his houſhold, Sainte Marie, and Caniſy. As he had created their poſts only in their favour, they were ſuppreſſed at their deceaſe.

That exactneſs which I have preſcribed myſelf, obliges me to give an account here of ſeveral ſums of money, which, by my papers, I find to be paid this year, by the orders, and for the private expences of his majeſty. Thirty-ſix thouſand livres to Don John de Medicis: the king made me take them upon the hundred thouſand livres placed in the ſtate of finances of the preſent year, to the account of his uncle the grand duke of Tuſcany. Three thouſand to cardinal Givry, and the ſame ſum to cardinal Seraphin, which remained of the revenues of the abbey of Clérac, due before the contract made with thoſe of St. John de Latran. Three thouſand two hundred and twenty-five livres to Santeny, who had lent that ſum to the king. Eighteen thouſand and

eaſily altered into Serpent, has ſo near a reſemblance to the word which in Greek ſignifies an inundation, that this alone might eaſily occaſion the miſtake. To recite all the reaſons contained in the pleadings, and writings of that time, or in the different diſſertations wrote ſince then on this ſubject, for and againſt the privilege of the canons of the cathedral church of Rouen, would take up too much room here. It is no wonder there ſhould have been ſo great an out-cry againſt an act of devotion ſo ſingular as this, whereby an action the moſt unjuſt, and tending to authoriſe what is highly criminal, is made the moſt eſſential part of the commemoration of a ſaint. The ceremonies obſerved on this occaſion (for they ſtill ſubſiſt, and are performed every year at Rouen on the feaſt of the aſcenſion, being called The Elevation of the Shrine) are deſcribed in the Mercure François, and in many other places.

1607. ſixty livres to the biſhop of Carcaſſonne, which had been long and importunately ſolicited by him, as being due to him by his majeſty, to whom he propoſed expedients without number for the payment. The king ordered me to require a ſword enriched with precious ſtones and ſome papers from this biſhop, which he had given him as ſecurity for this ſum. Many conſiderable ſums were loſt by Henry at play; but I ſhall not ſet them all down here. He ſent Beringhen to me for nine thouſand livres, which he had loſt at the fair of St. Germain, in little jewels and trinkets; writing to me, that the merchants were very preſſing for their money. Beringhen came again ſome days afterwards for five thouſand two hundred and ſixty-five livres; three days after that, I gave him three thouſand more; and another time, three thouſand ſix hundred livres.

I do not with theſe ſums confound thoſe that were given by the king to the prince of Condé, to enable him to make the tour of Italy: Henry could not be at too much expence to inſpire this prince with proper ſentiments; thoſe which it coſt him to repair the baſtions of the gate of St. Antony and La Place-Royale: thoſe which were paid to redeem the queen's rings from Rucelay, to whom they were pledged; nor thoſe which he expended in buildings for his manufactures, which were very conſiderable, and, in my opinion, very uſeleſs. The undertakers would have thrown down, for that purpoſe, all the houſes on one ſide of La Place-Royale; but Henry, according to the plan of the comptroller Donon, ordered them to be ſatisfied with erecting before thoſe houſes a kind of gallery, which preſerved on that ſide of the ſquare a uniformity with the others.

It was a difficult matter to agree upon a price with theſe celebrated Flemiſh tapeſtry-workers, which we had brought into France at ſo great an expence. At length it was reſolved, in the preſence of Sillery and me, that a hundred thouſand Franks ſhould be given them for their eſtabliſhment. Henry was very ſollicitous about the payment of this ſum, "Having, ſaid he, a great deſire to keep them, and not to loſe "the advances we have made." He would have been better pleaſed if theſe people could have been paid out of ſome other funds than thoſe which he had reſerved for himſelf: however, there was a neceſſity for ſatisfying them at any price whatever. His majeſty made uſe of his authority to oblige De Vienne to ſign an acquittal to the undertakers for linen-cloth in imitation of Dutch holland. This prince ordered a complete ſet of furniture to be made for him, which he ſent to me to examine

examine ſeparately, to know if they had not impoſed upon him. 1607.
Theſe things were not at all in my taſte, and I was but a very indifferent judge of them: the price ſeemed to me to be exceſſive, as well as the quantity. Henry was of another opinion: after examining the work, and reading my paper, he wrote to me that there was not too much, and that they had not exceeded his orders; that he had never ſeen ſo beautiful a piece of work before, and that the workman muſt be paid his demands immediately.

Henry did not leave Fontainebleau * till the end of July, when he went to Monceaux, where he ſtaid three weeks. Towards the cloſe of Auguſt, he went to St. Maur, where he was detained ſome days by a ſlight indiſpoſition, during which time the queen drank the waters of Vanvres. The king ſtaid at Paris all the month of September: he went thither again in December, having returned to Fontainebleau about the middle of October, and paſſed the autumn there. M. le Connetable went thither likewiſe, and was very graciouſly received by his majeſty when they met at Bouron.

It was one of this prince's higheſt enjoyments to be with his children, all of whom he loved with the moſt tender affection †. Hearing in the month of Auguſt that the effects of the contagious air began to be perceived at St. Germain, he wrote inſtantly to Madam de Montglat to take the children to Noiſy; and ſent Frontenac poſt to me, to tell me that he depended upon my care and diligence to provide coaches, litters, and waggons, neceſſary for this removal. Monſieur

* He was attacked by the gout on Whitſun-eve. The fit was violent, ſays Matthieu, the pain moſt ſevere; but his courage and the ſtrength of his conſtitution would have overcome it, had he not taken a greater liberty in eating fruit than his phyſicians thought proper to allow him. He did not indulge his diſorder, but continued his uſual exerciſe; and about the 21ſt of May, being in bed with the queen, and perceiving a new fit coming on in one of his feet, he removed into another bed; and finding the motion in his removal of ſervice to him, he got up and ordered himſelf to be carried to the great canal, where he walked till he had tired himſelf to ſuch a degree, that when he came back he fell aſleep; and on waking again felt himſelf free from pain.

† Henry IV. has been blamed for ſuffering the great affection he had, for both his lawful and natural children, to blind him ſo far, as to prevent his ſeeing their faults, and acting with his uſual prudence in what related to them. This I find him reproached with in the book called Hiſtoire de la Mere & du Fils, vol. I. p. 43. But I do not know whether the anecdotes it contains are as full of truth as they are of curious matters: I find an appearance of prejudice in it for certain perſons, and againſt others, which gives one reaſon ſufficient to lay no great ſtreſs on its evidence.

the

1607. the Dauphin falling ſick at Noiſy, his majeſty inſtantly writ me an account of it, as he did likewiſe of his recovery; for he never failed to give me notice of every alteration in his health, whether for the better or worſe; as likewiſe of all the reſt of the royal family. It was judged that the children of France might return with ſafety to St. Germain in the month of November; but Henry, not willing to run the leaſt hazard in a matter of ſuch conſequence, writ to me and Madame de Montglat, to ſtay at Noiſy the whole month *. They were accordingly not removed till the firſt of December.

Time did not bring to the family of this prince that tranquillity which was ſo often diſturbed by the pride and folly of women: on the contrary, thoſe domeſtic diſorders increaſed every day: great part of the converſation I had with his majeſty in his library turned upon this ſubject. Henry entreated me, in terms ſuch as one friend would uſe to another, to interpoſe once more between the two perſons that cauſed all his uneaſineſs. I ſhall treat this ſubject more fully in the memoirs of the following year; all I ſhall ſay concerning it in this, being only to explain the meaning of ſome letters I received from this prince: one of theſe letters is dated from Verneuil, near Senlis, April 15. He there complains, that after having promiſed him at the Louvre to uſe my utmoſt endeavours to bring about an accommodation, yet I had ſuffered fifteen days to paſs without doing any thing towards it. "I ſee, purſued he, that the entreaties of a friend are not ſufficiently "perſuaſive, and you will reduce me to the neceſſity of requiring your "obedience as a king and a maſter. Do not fail then to perform your "promiſe, if you love me, and deſire that I ſhould love you; for I "am reſolved to extricate myſelf from all theſe intrigues, which, as "you well know without my ſaying it, are but too often renewed; "and will put an end to them whatever it coſt me. Adieu. You are "very dear to me; but I muſt be equally ſo to you, which I ſhall be "convinced of if you render me the ſervice I deſire of you."

I find another dated from Fontainebleau, in the month of October, conceived in theſe terms: "Something has happened in my family,

* The comet which appeared this year in the month of September, gave occaſion to take all theſe precautions for the health of the children of France; becauſe the aſtrologers gave out that it threatened their lives. Henry IV. ſaid to Matthieu his hiſtorian, who relates it, that the comet had ſhed its influence on the daughter of the king of England; and that, thro' God's mercy, the aſtrologers had been miſtaken. Vol. II. book iii. p. 769.

"which

" which has given me more pain than any thing of the kind I have 1607.
" ever yet met with. I would purchaſe your preſence at almoſt any
" price; for you are the only perſon to whom I can open my heart,
" and from whoſe advice I receive the greateſt conſolation. This affair
" is neither of love nor of jealouſy; it is a matter of ſtate. Diſpatch your
" buſineſs quickly, that you may come to me as ſoon as poſſible. I em-
" ploy M. Sillery; but he is unequal to the taſk. You may gueſs
" what it is in which I want your aſſiſtance: this obſtinacy and inſo-
" lence will be at length inſupportable." " For my private uneaſineſs,"
writ he ſome days afterwards, " it will laſt for ever: if you were here
" you could not reſtrain your anger, but would ſpeak your ſentiments
" freely." The reader, I do not doubt, greatly pities this good prince;
and it was almoſt all that I could do for him.

The duke of Bouillon received a ſtriking inſtance of the goodneſs and gentleneſs of Henry, when he reſolved to yield Sedan again to him, and truſt the guard of it to himſelf, by withdrawing Netancourt and the company he had placed there. The Sieur Gamaliel de Monſire, commiſſary in ordinary of war, was ſent thither for that purpoſe. His inſtructions, which were dated the laſt day of December in the preſent year, imported, that although the term of four years, during which the royal garriſon was to remain there, was not yet expired; yet his majeſty thought proper, for ſufficient reaſons, to withdraw it, and to put the duke of Bouillon again in poſſeſſion of this city; that Monſire ſhould give this company their pay for the remaining four months of the preſent year, after which it ſhould be diſbanded; and that this commiſſary ſhould take care that the ſoldiers paid all the debts they had contracted among the town's people. It being the king's intention to fulfil exactly the article of the act of protection of April the 2d 1596, by which his majeſty engaged to maintain there a certain number of officers and troops for the ſecurity of the city, Monſire was directed to make thoſe officers and ſoldiers, who were placed in Sedan in the room of thoſe that were commanded to leave it, take a particular oath to his majeſty, beſides that which by the treaty they were obliged to take four times a year at their quarterly payments. Theſe officers and ſoldiers bound themſelves by oath to ſerve the king for and againſt all perſons whatever, even againſt the duke of Bouillon himſelf, if he ſhould neglect to fulfil the conditions of the treaty of 1606: and, laſtly, Monſire was ordered to oblige the burghers of Sedan likewiſe to take the oath expreſſed in the act of protection, which differed

1607. differed from the other only in this, that they were releaſed from that taken to the duke of Bouillon, and by his own conſent, if he ſhould ever be capable of engaging in oppoſite intereſts to thoſe of his majeſty. All this was exactly executed. The original inſtrument of this tranſaction was executed before the notaries of Sedan, and proved as well as the two oaths taken by the burghers and ſoldiers, which were reduced to writing, and dated one on the 22d, the other on the 23d of January following.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF

SULLY.

BOOK XXV.

THE memoirs of this year, as of the former, will contain none of thoſe extraordinary events, which cannot be read without aſtoniſhment or horror: I ſhall continue in them my uſual details of the government, court intrigues, and the private life of Henry as well as my own. The winter was ſpent in diverſions more varied and more frequent than ever, and in ſhews prepared with great magnificence. The king had ſent for ſome comedians from Italy, in whoſe performances he took much delight: he often ſent for them to Fontainebleau to play before him, and in my abſence commanded my ſon to pay them their appointments with great exactneſs. The arſenal was generally the place where thoſe plays and ſhews were exhibited, which required ſome preparations. The king, ſometimes when I was abſent, came thither to run at the ring: but he never thought there was the ſame order and regularity preſerved, as when I was there: and the queen, and the whole court, thought no other place ſo agreeable and convenient for theatrical repreſentations. For this purpoſe I had cauſed a ſpacious hall to be built and fitted up, with an amphitheatre; and a great number of boxes, in ſeveral galleries ſeparated from each other, with different degrees of height, and particular doors 1608.

1608. belonging to them. Two of these galleries were destined for the ladies: no man was allowed to enter with them. This was one of my regulations, which I would not suffer should be reversed, and which I did not think it beneath me to enforce the observation of.

One day, when a very fine ballet was represented in this hall, I perceived a man leading in a lady, with whom he was preparing to enter one of the womens galleries; he was a foreigner, and I easily distinguished of what country by the swarthy colour of his skin. "Monsieur, said I to him, you must seek for another door, if you please; "for I do not imagine, that, with such a complexion, you can hope "to pass for a fair lady." "My lord," answered he in very bad French, "when you know who I am, I am persuaded you will not "refuse to let me sit among those fair ladies, as swarthy as I am. "My name is Pimentel, I have the honour to be very well with "his majesty, who plays very often with me." Which was, indeed, too true; for this foreigner, whom I had already heard often mentioned, had gained immense sums from the king. "How, Ventre-"de-ma-vie," said I to him affecting to be extremely angry, "you are "then that fat Portuguese * who every day wins the king's money. "Pardieu, you are come to a bad place; for I neither like, nor will "suffer such people to come here." He offered to speak, but I would not hear him. "Go, go," said I, pushing him back, "you shall not "enter here: I am not to be prevailed upon by your gibberish." The king afterwards asking him if he did not think the ballet very fine, and the dances exquisitely performed, Pimentel told him that he had a great inclination to see it, but that he met his grand financer, with his negative front, at the door, who turned him back. He then related his adventure with me, at which the king was extremely pleased, and laughed heartily at his manner of telling it; nor did he forget to divert the whole court with it afterwards.

I shall not here have recourse to the artifices of false modesty, to insinuate that the affection the king shewed for me, and the confidence he placed in me had risen to such a height, that if I had been capable of aspiring to the superb title of favourite, I might have obtained it. The reader may judge of this by the offers his majesty made me this year; but it is necessary to take this matter a little higher.

* Pimentel was not a Portuguese, but an Italian.

Among

Among the many calumnies which in the year 1605 brought me to the brink of ruin, my enemies by private informations endeavoured to perſuade Henry, that I intended to procure ſo rich and ſo powerful an alliance for my ſon *, as might one day render him formidable to his majeſty himſelf: that ſeveral perſons, either, by my deſire, or to make their court to me, laboured ſo earneſtly for the ſucceſs of his ſcheme, that already I had it in my choice to marry my ſon either to Mademoiſelle de Bourbon, de Maïenne, de Montmorency, de Bouillon, or de Crequy, or into any of the richeſt private families in the kingdom, if I preferred a great eſtate to a noble name. This was one of the principal points of that long and ſerious converſation I had with his majeſty the preceding year in his library, and of which I promiſed to relate all that I was permitted to diſcover, as opportunities offered. Henry aſked me what were my views for my ſon, and whether there was any truth in thoſe reports that he had heard concerning his marriage with one of thoſe ladies I have mentioned. I acknowledged to this prince, that it was indeed true. Each of thoſe families had made me offers very capable of dazzling an ambitious man; but that my conſtant reply had been, that it was from his majeſty alone I would receive a wife for my ſon. 1608.

The king appeared extremely well ſatisfied with this anſwer, and theſe ſentiments; and opening his heart entirely, he told me, that with regard to me, there were two things which would give him equal uneaſineſs: one of which was, if, knowing the extreme concern it gave him to ſee the chief of his nobility mixing their blood with that of a burgher, or a plebeian, I ſhould ever dream of marrying my ſon below the dignity of his birth; and the other if, erring in the contrary extreme, I ſhould chooſe a wife for him either out of the houſe of Bourbon, or of Lorrain, but more eſpecially that of Bouillon. Therefore, among the five young ladies propoſed for Roſny, he ſaw only Mademoiſelle de Crequy on whom he could fix his choice; for every one knew the houſes of Bonne, Blanchefort, and Agouſt, to be of the loweſt claſs of the nobility, although otherwiſe diſtinguiſhed as much by brave examples of perſonal valour, as by the moſt ſhining dignities of the ſtate.

* Maximilian de Bethune, marquis of Roſny, eldeſt ſon of the duke of Sully, by Anne de Courtenay his firſt wife. He was ſuper-intendant of the fortifications, governor of Mante and Gergeau, and maſter-general of the ordnance in reverſion, after the death of his father; but died before him in 1634.

1608. Henry, confirming himſelf in this thought, added, that he would not have the propoſal come from any but himſelf; and that he would take a convenient time for it, which he did almoſt immediately after.

Lesdiguieres and Crequy were not hard to be perſuaded: I may even ſay, that the eagerneſs they ſhewed for the concluſion of the match did not abate, till they ſaw the articles not only drawn up but ſigned. I may ſay, likewiſe with equal truth, that in the conditions they found no artifice on my ſide: I ſought rather to acquire tender friends, than relations ſtill nearer connected. Nothing fell out in the ſucceeding years, that did not confirm me in the thought, that I had ſucceeded in my endeavours to procure this happineſs. Thoſe years were full of glory and proſperity for me, but they are paſt: thoſe friends ſo affectionate have diſappeared with my favour; thoſe allies ſo reſpectful have vaniſhed with my fortune: but what do I ſay, have they not endeavoured to complete my misfortune, and that of my ſon, by giving me cauſe to deteſt on a thouſand accounts the moſt unhappy of all alliances? Why had I not the power of reading hearts? But perhaps I have reaſon to thank heaven for my error and my credulity: the temptation to which I ſaw myſelf a ſhort time afterwards expoſed, might have been then too powerful for conſcience to have ſurmounted.

Although the marriage *, thus abſolutely reſolved on, was not celebrated immediately, as both parties left it to the king to fix the time for it, from that moment I looked upon the tye, which united the family of Crequy to mine, as indiſſoluble; and I was ſo far the dupe of the ſincerity and tenderneſs of my own heart, as to make this alliance one argument for not ſuffering myſelf to be influenced by the inchanting proſpect that was ſuddenly offered to my view. It was at the latter end of this year, which was ſome months after the treaty with the Crequy family had been concluded, that this temptation was thrown in my way; and in the beginning of this, when I was more ſtrongly aſſailed by it. But before I explain myſelf, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that

* It was not celebrated till the month of October, in the following year, at Charenton, by M. Du Moulin, a reformed miniſter. The lady was only nine or ten years old: ſhe was called Frances, daughter of Charles de Blanchefort de Crequy, prince of Poix, and afterwards duke of Leſdiguieres, by his marriage with Magdalen de Bonne de Leſdiguieres, daughter of the conſtable of that name. The Marquis of Roſny had iſſue by her, Maximilian Francis de Bethune duke of Sully, &c. and Louiſa de Bethune, who died unmarried.

it

it was ſtill by an effect of the moſt refined malice of my enemies, that I ſaw myſelf in a ſituation wherein it depended only upon my own choice to reach the higheſt degree of greatneſs and ſplendor that any ſubject could arrive at. 1608.

My enemies then began to inſinuate to the king, under an appearance of zeal both for him and me, which he thought very ſincere, that he had not yet done enough for me; that he ought not to delay offering and obliging me to accept all that his munificence was able to beſtow, without requiring any thing more of me than what indeed appeared moſt eſſential and indiſpenſably neceſſary; namely, to quit the proteſtant and embrace the catholic religion. It was, doubtleſs, far from their intention to procure ſo many advantages for me; and I ſhall eaſily prove, that the object they had in view was diametrically oppoſite to that which they appeared to have by the propoſals they made. They had inwardly ſo good an opinion of me, as to believe that I would not purchaſe any advancement at the price of quitting my religion. From my refuſal, therefore, they hoped to perſuade the king, that he had every thing to fear from a man who was capable of making his religion triumph over his intereſt, which it was generally found no conſiderations, whether ſacred or profane, were able to reſiſt. The king, pleaſed with the proſpect of advancing me, received this propoſal with intentions ſo different from thoſe by whom it was made to him, that I cannot preſerve a too grateful remembrance of his goodneſs.

Accordingly he ſent for me one morning to the Louvre; and ſhutting himſelf up alone with me in his library, "Well, my friend, "ſaid he, you have been in great haſte to conclude the treaty for your "ſon's marriage, tho' I cannot conceive why; for in this alliance, "neither for blood, riches, nor perſon, can I ſee any advantage for you." Henry, it is apparent, had forgot that I had done nothing in this affair but by his expreſs commands. "I have reſolved, continued he, to em-"ploy you with more authority than ever in the adminiſtration, and to "raiſe you and your family to all ſorts of honours, dignities, and "riches; but there is a neceſſity that you ſhould aſſiſt me in the ex-"ecution of this deſign; for if you do not contribute to it on your "ſide, it will be difficult for me to accompliſh my intentions, without "prejudice to my affairs, and hazarding great blame; conſequences "which I am perſuaded you would be unwilling I ſhould draw upon "myſelf. My deſign, then, is to ally you to myſelf, by giving my "daughter

1608. " daughter Vendome * in marriage to your ſon, with a portion of two " hundred thouſand crowns in ready money, and a penſion of ten " thouſand a year; the government of Berry to your ſon, to which " I ſhall join that of Bourbonnois after Madame de Augoulême's de- " ceaſe; and the domaine ſhe poſſeſſes there, by re-imburſing the mo- " ney it coſt her. I will likewiſe give your ſon the poſt of grand " maſter of the ordnance in reverſion, and the government of Poitou " to your ſon-in-law, for which I ſhall give you that of Normandy in " exchange; for I ſee very plainly, that poor M. de Montpenſier † " will not live long, any more than the conſtable, whoſe office " I likewiſe deſtine for you, and will give you the reverſion of it now. " But to favour all this, it is neceſſary that you and your ſon ſhould " embrace the catholic religion. I entreat you not to refuſe me this " requeſt, ſince the good of my ſervice, and the fortune of your houſe " require it."

The recital I have made here is ſo proper to excite and to flatter vanity, that to avoid ſo dangerous a ſnare, I will not give way to any reflexions upon it, not even to ſuch as muſt neceſſarily ariſe on the goodneſs of a prince, who enforced his entreaties with acts of the higheſt munificence. My anſwer was conceived, as I remember, in theſe terms: I told his majeſty, that he did me more honour than I deſerved, and even more than I could hope or deſire: that it was not for me to decide concerning the two propoſals he had made for my ſon, ſince his ſettlement in the world depended entirely on his majeſty, and he was arrived to an age that rendered him capable of ſerious reflexions upon religion, and might therefore direct his choice himſelf: but with regard to me, the caſe was quite different. I aſſured him with the utmoſt ſincerity, that I could not think of increaſing my honours, dignities, or riches, at the expence of my conſcience: that if I ſhould ever change my religion, it would be from conviction alone; neither ambition, avarice, nor vanity, being able to influence me: and that if

* Catherine-Henrietta de Vendome, legitimated daughter of Henry the IV. by Gabrielle d' Eſtrées. She married Charles of Lorrain, duke of Elbœuf, and died in 1663.

† Henry de Bourbon, duke of Montpenſier, actually died in the month of February in this year, after languiſhing two years, during which time he lived only on womens milk; having prepared himſelf in a truly chriſtian manner for his death. Henry IV. being informed of it, ſaid aloud, " We ought all to pray to God to grant " us as much time to repent as this prince " had." Matthieu, ibid. 772. The Duke of Montpenſier was only thirty-five years old. The branch of Bourbon Montpenſier was extinct in him; for he left only one daughter, who was contracted in marriage to the Duke of Orleans, ſecond ſon of Henry IV.

I acted otherwiſe, his majeſty himſelf would have good reaſon for diſtruſting a heart that could not preſerve its faith to God. "But, why," replied Henry, with a cordiality that ſenſibly affected me, "why ſhould "I ſuſpect you, ſince you would not do any thing that I have not "done before you, and which you yourſelf adviſed me to do, when I "propoſed the affair to you. Give me, I beſeech you, this ſatisfac-"tion: I will allow you a month to conſider of it: fear not that I "will fail in the performance of any of my promiſes." 1608.

"I HAVE not, ſire, I replied, the leaſt doubt but that your word is inviolable: I deſire nothing ſo ardently as to pleaſe you; nor will I ever neglect any thing that is in my power to do. I promiſe to think ſeriouſly of all that you have been pleaſed to propoſe to me, ſtill hoping I ſhall ſatisfy your majeſty, tho' not perhaps in the manner you expect."

THE proteſtants hearing that I intended to break off my propoſed alliance with Leſdiguieres, and to marry my ſon to Mademoiſelle de Vendome, for this report was immediately ſpread every where, now believed they were going to loſe me entirely. They had long, with the ſevereſt reproaches accuſed me of having laboured to ruin the proteſtant party in France, by amaſſing up ſuch conſiderable ſums for the king, and providing ſuch an abundance of warlike ſtores, which their fears repreſented to them would be firſt employed againſt them. In vain did I endeavour to convince them, that they had no reaſon to apprehend ſuch deſigns from a prince like Henry. Their prejudices made them always return to their former ſuſpicions of me: in theſe they were confirmed by the affection the king ſhewed for Roſny, calling him often my ſon; the free acceſs which all eccleſiaſtics had to my houſe; the care I took to repair churches, hoſpitals, and convents, in which I every year expended a conſiderable ſum of the royal revenues; the brief of Paul V. of which ſeveral copies had been taken; and I know not how many other circumſtances, which all at that moment concurred to perſuade them of my breach of faith.

THE chief perſons amongſt the proteſtants, and the miniſters eſpecially, ſeemed to be moſt uneaſy at this report, not only becauſe of the triumph which their enemies were going to have over them; but becauſe they were perſuaded, and they even ſaid it publickly, that if I was once prevailed upon to abandon them, I ſhould not act with indifference towards them, but become their moſt zealous perſecutor. For a long ſpace of time, I heard nothing but exhortations, remonſtrances, and

1607. and harangues, from that party, which were not likely to be very efficacious after what the king had ſaid to me, if I had not happily found the ſtrongeſt ſupport within myſelf. The counteſs of Sault, Leſdiguieres, and the Crequy family, exerted themſelves, in the mean time, with the utmoſt vigour, to hinder the marriage with Mademoiſelle de Crequy from being broken off, and that with Mademoiſelle de Vendome from going forward: they endeavoured to perſuade the queen to intereſt herſelf in their cauſe, and complained to her of what was deſigned to their prejudice. But finding that ſhe would do nothing in the affair, they renewed their ſollicitations to me, making uſe of every method they thought capable of keeping me on their ſide; aſſiduities, aſſurances, promiſes, oaths, all were employed to diſſuade me from a deſign I had never entertained.

During theſe tranſactions, I left Paris to take a journey to Sully, and my other eſtates; and immediately upon my return, which was at the end of ten or twelve days, his majeſty ſent Villeroi to me, to receive my anſwer upon the propoſals he had made to me. I was not ſorry that he had deputed a perſon to me, before whom I could declare, with the utmoſt freedom, thoſe ſentiments which reflection had but the more confirmed. I told Villeroi, that I moſt humbly thanked his majeſty for all the honours he had conferred on me: that I could never conſent to be inveſted with the offices of perſons ſtill living; and that, although they ſhould become vacant, I did not think myſelf entitled to them, being already poſſeſſed of as many as I deſired: that as for what regarded my ſon, I ſhould never have any other counſel to give him, than to obey the king, and to do nothing againſt his own conſcience. I had particular reaſons for being ſtill leſs explicit upon the articles of my change of religion; therefore, I only told Villeroi, that cardinal Du Perron ſhould bear my anſwer to his majeſty. His eminence, as well as Henry, thought there was great meaning in theſe words: the king related them to Du Perron, declaring that he entertained ſome hopes from them. And ſoon after this, the cardinal came to viſit me, and entreated me to open my whole heart to him. My anſwer had both ſtrength, and even theology * enough in it to convince Du Perron that he had been deceived in his expectations; neither his learning nor his eloquence could move me; and at his return, he told the king I was inflexible.

* Theology which might be ſeaſonable at that time, but would be much out of its place here; and which I alſo ſuppreſs, that it may not be offenſive to catholic ears.

This

This prince, who was desirous of making one effort more, sent for me again; but although he made use of no other arguments than what the gentleness of his disposition, and his affection for me suggested, and, if I may be permitted to say so, such sollicitations as became our ancient friendship, yet I was persuaded, the danger would not stop there, great as it was even then, especially when he began to reproach me, and called my constancy and firmness, obduracy to him; and a certain sign, he said, that I no longer loved him. At length, he told me, that this was the last time he would speak of this matter to me; and that he expected I should give him my son at least. To this I again replied, that I would not deny him; but that I could not consent to use the authority of a father to make my son embrace the roman catholic religion. His firmness was equal to my own; and the king, who would not bestow his daughter on any of the princes of the blood, for fear of rendering them too powerful, resolved to marry Mademoiselle de Vendome to the son of M. le Connetable. The countess of Sault took this opportunity to renew her instances for the accomplishing her grand-daughter's marriage. 1608.

All that now remained to be done, was to guard against the counter-blow of my enemies: and this I did not neglect, when I found that they were busy in preparing it for me. I took that opportunity to write to the king, telling him that I was not ignorant of any thing that was reported to him to give him a bad impression of my thoughts, words, and actions: that they imputed to me what I neither thought, said, or did. I earnestly entreated him not to forget the promise he had made me, to declare to me himself his will, and what causes of complaint he had against me. His answer was wholly calculated to restore my quiet, and secure me against all apprehensions from my enemies: he told me in it, that I, in common with all persons in power, excited more envy than compassion. "You know, added he, "whether I am exempted from it from the people of both religions. "This then is all you have to do; that since I take your advice in all "my affairs, do you also take mine in every thing that relates to "you, as that of the most faithful friend you have in the world, and "the best master that ever was."

It was not without some reason that Henry brought himself as an example. He likewise had his uneasinesses, and his secret enemies; for although we no longer, as formerly, saw seditions ready to break out

1606. in the kingdom, becauſe the exertion of the royal authority had obliged inſolence and mutiny to keep themſelves concealed; yet it was but too certain, that in court, and among the moſt conſiderable perſons in the kingdom, the ſame turbulent and reſtleſs ſpirit, the ſame eager panting after novelties, which had ſo long kept the ſtate in diſorder and anarchy, were perceived. That ſpirit now ſhewed itſelf in diviſions amongſt families, and quarrels between particular perſons, which Henry laboured to compoſe by every method in his power, looking upon them as ſeeds from whence nothing but the moſt dangerous fruits could proceed: and it gave him great pain when he could not always ſucceed to his wiſh. The reign of Henry the fourth, which in many reſpects bore a great reſemblance to that of Auguſtus, had likewiſe this in conformity with his, that it was diſturbed by quarrels among his nobility; and on theſe occaſions, the example of Auguſtus was, what Henry commonly propoſed to himſelf to imitate. "Æquitate non aculeo" was the motto which, by his direction, I put on the gold medals ſtruck this year, which repreſented a ſwarm of bees in the air, with their king in the midſt of them without a ſting. I preſented theſe medals to Henry, as he paſſed through his little gallery to that which leads to the Tuilleries, where we walked together a long time, diſcourſing upon the ſubject I have juſt mentioned, and thoſe domeſtic quarrels which embittered the life of a prince too gentle and too good, whoſe unhappineſs I have ſo often deplored.

The reader may perceive, that in my memoirs of the late years, I have faithfully obſerved the promiſe I had formerly made, to entertain him no more with the weakneſſes of Henry. I carefully concealed from my ſecretaries, and all perſons whatever, all that paſſed between Henry and me upon this ſubject, in thoſe many long and ſecret converſations we had together: except the ducheſs of Beaufort and the marchioneſs of Verneuil, the name of no other woman has been mentioned in theſe memoirs, with the title of miſtreſs to the king. I chuſe rather to ſuppreſs all the trouble I have ſuffered in this article, than make it known at the expence of my maſter's glory: probably I have carried this ſcruple too far. The public has heard ſo often the names of Madame de Moret *, Mademoiſelle des Eſſarts, old Madame d'Angou-

* Jacqueline Du Beuil, counteſs of Moret; Charlotte des Eſſarts, counteſs of Romorantin; two of Henry the IVth's miſtreſſes. By the firſt, he had Antony earl of Moret, killed at the battle of Caſtelnaudary in 1632: and by the ſecond, he had two daughters; one abbeſs of Fontevraud, and the other of Chelles. By thoſe two ladies

leme,

leme, the counteſs of Sault, Meſdames de Ragny, and de Chamlivault, two of my relations; the Commandeur de Sillery *, Rambouillet, Marillac, Duret the phyſician, another phyſician who was a Jew, and many of the moſt conſiderable perſons at court, all differently intereſted in theſe adventures of gallantry, either as principals or as parties concerned; that I might relate a great deal without ſaying any thing new, which would be indeed but a cold repetition of little debates and love quarrels, ſuch as thoſe which I have already ſlightly mentioned. The following circumſtance I have excepted from this rule, as it is of a nature that ſeems to require I ſhould juſtify my part in it to the public. 1608.

On one of thoſe occaſions when Henry was moſt deeply affected with the uneaſy temper of the queen, it was reported, that he had quitted her with ſome emotion, and ſet out for Chantilly without ſeeing her. This indeed was true: he took the arſenal in his way, and there opened his whole heart to me upon the cauſe of this diſpute. The king purſued his journey, and I went in the afternoon to the Louvre, attended only by one of my ſecretaries, who did not follow me to the queen's little cloſet, where ſhe was then ſhut up. Leonora Conchini was at the door of this cloſet, her head bending down towards her neck, like a perſon who was ſleeping, or at leaſt in a profound reverie. I drew her out of it, and ſhe told me, that the queen would not ſuffer her to enter her cloſet, the door of which however was opened to me the moment I was named †.

by the dutcheſs of Beaufort, and by the marchioneſs of Verneuil, who ſucceſſively had openly the title of the king's miſtreſs, he had eight children, which were all he legitimated. Beſides theſe, he was in love with Mary Babou, viſcounteſs of Eſtagnes, two couſins of the fair Gabrielle, and many others. See L'Hiſtoire des Amours du Grand Alcandre.

After the death of Henry IV. Mademoiſelle des Eſſarts ſecretly married the cardinal of Guiſe, Lewis of Lorraine; the pope having granted him a diſpenſation for that marriage, and, at the ſame time, empowered him ſtill to hold his benefices. This is proved by the very contract of marriage, found amongſt the cardinal's papers after his death, executed in the moſt authentic form. Mention is made of this in the Mercure Hiſt. and Polit. April 1688. From this marriage, two ſons were born; one biſhop of Condom, and the ſecond earl of Romorantin; and two daughters, one of whom married the marquis of Rhodes. Charlotte des Eſſarts afterwards married Francis Du-Hallier-de-l'Hoſpital, marſhal of France, earl of Roſnay, &c. The commentary of Les Amours du Grand Alcandre remarks only, that ſhe was the cardinal of Guiſe's miſtreſs; and afterwards of N. De-Vic, Archbiſhop of Auch. She was the natural daughter of the baron of Sautour, in Champagne. Journal du regne de Henry III. printed in 1720, vol. I. p. 277.

* Noel de Sillery, brother of the chancellor, ambaſſador at Rome.

† The queen, for a long time, placed a great confidence in M. de Sully. The author of L'Hiſtoire de la Mere & du Fils,

1608. I found the queen busy in composing a letter to the king, which she allowed me to read: it breathed an air of spleen and bitterness, which must inevitably have very bad effects. I made her so sensible of the consequences it was likely to produce, that she consented to suppress it, tho' with great difficulty; and upon condition that I should assist her in composing another, wherein nothing should be omitted of all that, as she said, she might with justice represent to the king her husband. There was a necessity for complying with this request, to avoid something worse. Many little debates arose between us concerning the choice of expressions and the force of each term. I had occasion for all the presence of mind I was capable of exerting, to find out the means of satisfying this princess, without displeasing the king, or of being guilty of any disrespect in addressing him. This letter, which was very long, I shall not repeat here. The queen complained in it of the continual gallantries of the king her husband; but declared that she was excited to this only by the earnest desire she had to possess his heart entirely. If therefore she appeared to insist too absolutely upon his sacrificing his mistress to her, her quiet, her conscience, and her honour, the interest of the king, his health and his life, the good of the state, and the security of her children's succession to the throne, which the marchioness de Verneuil took pleasure in rendering doubtful, were so many motives which reduced her, she said, to the disagreeable necessity of making such a demand, with some degree of peremptoriness: to awaken his tenderness, and excite his compassion, she added, that she, together with the children she had by him, would throw themselves at his feet: she reminded him of his promises, and took God to witness, that if she could prevail upon him to keep them,

says, that princess having resolved one day, by the advice of Conchini, to inform the king, that certain of the courtiers had had the boldness to make love to her, she was desirous of previously taking the duke of Sully's advice in regard to it, who persuaded her not to execute that resolution, by representing to her, "That she was going to "give the king the strongest and justest "suspicion a sovereign could have of his "wife; since every man of common "sense must know very well, that it "would be highly improper to entertain a "person of her rank on the subject of "love, without previously being assured, "that it would not be disagreeable to her, "or from her having made the first ad-"vances: and that the king might "imagine, the motives which had induced "her to make such a discovery, were ei-"ther fear that it should have been made "by some other means, or that she had "taken a disgust against the persons ac-"cused, by meeting with somebody else "more agreeable in her eyes; or, in "fine, through the persuasion of others, "who had influence enough over her to "prevail on her to take this resolution." Vol. I. p. 10.

she

ſhe would, on her ſide, renounce all other vengeance againſt the marchioneſs de Verneuil. 1608.

All my caution was ſcarce ſufficient to avoid the extremes the queen would have run into; and it is apparent, however, that I failed either in addreſs or invention: for the king, when he received this letter, was mortally offended with it, and ſo much the more as he inſtantly perceived that it was not in the queen's manner. I had a billet from him immediately, conceived in theſe terms: "My friend, I have received "the moſt impertinent letter from my wife that ever was wrote. I am "not ſo angry with her, as with the perſon that has dictated it; for I "ſee plainly that it is not her ſtyle. Endeavour to diſcover the au-"thor of it: I never ſhall have any regard for him, whoever he be; "nor will I ſee him as long as I live." However ſecure I thought myſelf, I could not help being uneaſy at this billet.

The king, on his arrival from Chantilly three or four days afterwards, came to the arſenal. I was ſufficiently perplexed by the queſtions he asked me concerning this affair; for it was expreſly for that purpoſe that he came. "Well, ſaid he, have you yet diſcovered the perſon "who compoſed my wife's letter?" Not yet certainly, replied I, making uſe of ſome little addreſs, but I hope to give you this ſatisfaction in two days; and probably ſooner, if you will tell me what there is in it that diſpleaſes you. "Oh, replied he, the letter is mighty well "writ; full of reaſons, obedience, and ſubmiſſion; but wounds me "ſmiling, and while it flatters piques me. I have no particular ex-"ception to make to it; but, in general, I am offended with it, and "ſhall be the more ſo if it comes to be public." But, ſire, replied I, if it be ſuch as you ſay, it may have been written with a good intention, and to prevent ſomething ſtill worſe. "No! no! interrupted "Henry, it is maliciouſly deſigned, and with a view to inſult me. If "my wife had taken advice from you, or from any of my faithful "ſervants in it, I ſhould not have been ſo much offended." What, ſire, reſumed I haſtily, if it was one of your faithful ſervants who had dictated it, would you not bear him ſome ill-will? "Not the leaſt, re-"turned the king; for I ſhould be very certain, that he had done it "with a good intention." It is true, ſire, ſaid I: therefore you muſt be no longer angry; for it was I that dictated it, through an apprehenſion that ſomething worſe might happen: and when you know my reaſons, you will confeſs, that I was under a neceſſity of doing it. But to remove all your doubts, I will ſhew you the original, written in my own

1608. own hand, at the ſide of the queen's. Saying this, I took the paper out of my pocket, and preſented it to him.

The king, as he read it, made me obſerve ſome words, in the place of which the queen, when ſhe copied the letter, had ſubſtituted others far leſs obliging. "Well, ſaid he, ſince you are the author, let us ſay "no more of it: my heart is at reſt. But this is not all," added he, taking advantage of the aſcendant, which on this occaſion I ſeemed to have over the mind of the queen: "there are two ſervices which I ex- "pect from you." I liſtened to the king with great attention, and without once interrupting him, although he ſpoke a long time; and I ſhall here relate his words, which I took down in writing at the time. It is by this kind of familiar converſations that the heart is beſt known. "I know, ſaid he, that my wife came twice to your houſe, while I "was at the chace: that ſhe was ſhut up with you in your wife's "cloſet, each time above an hour; that at her coming out from "thence, although her colour ſeemed to be raiſed by anger, and her "eyes full of tears, yet ſhe behaved in a friendly manner to you, "thanked you, and appeared not ill ſatisfied with what you had ſaid to "her: and that you may know I am not ill informed, I ſhall not hide "from you, that it was my couſin de Rohan, your daughter, who re- "lated all this to me; not for the ſake of telling ſecrets, but becauſe ſhe "thought I ſhould be glad to ſee my wife and you upon ſuch friendly "terms. It muſt certainly be, therefore, that my wife has ſome bu- "ſineſs of conſequence with you: for, notwithſtanding all the queſ- "tions I have asked her, ſhe has never ſaid a ſingle word, or given "the ſmalleſt intimation of theſe two conferences. I forbid you "likewiſe, upon pain of my diſpleaſure, to ſay any thing of this mat- "ter to my couſin de Rohan: you will deprive me of the pleaſure "I have in ſeeing her here, and ſhe will never tell me any thing more, "if ſhe knows I have repeated this to you. Although I laugh and "play with her as with a child, yet I do not find in her a childiſh "underſtanding. She ſometimes gives me very good advice, and is "extremely ſecret, which is an excellent quality. I have told her "many things in confidence, which I have been convinced ſhe never "mentioned, either to you or to any other perſon.

"But to return to theſe two important ſervices, which only you, "in my opinion, are able to undertake, I have already ſaid, and I "repeat it again, that you muſt be extremely careful to avoid giving "the

" the leaſt ſuſpicion that you have concerted with me what you are to 1608.
" do and ſay in theſe affairs: it muſt not appear, that I knew any
" thing of your interpoſition, but that you act entirely of yourſelf:
" and you muſt even feign to be apprehenſive of its coming to my
" ear. One of theſe ſervices regards Madam de Verneuil: it is with
" her you muſt begin, and this will ſmooth your way to the other.
" You muſt tell this lady, that as her particular friend you come to
" give her notice, that ſhe is upon the point of loſing my favour,
" unleſs ſhe behaves with great prudence and circumſpection: that
" you have diſcovered, that there are perſons at court who are endea-
" vouring to engage me in affairs of gallantry with others; and if this
" ſhould happen, you are fully perſuaded, that I ſhall take her chil-
" dren from her, and confine her to a cloiſter; that this abatement
" in my affection for her is, in the firſt place, apparently cauſed by
" the ſuſpicion I have entertained that ſhe no longer loves me; that
" ſhe takes the liberty to ſpeak of me often with contempt, and even
" prefers other perſons to me: ſecondly, becauſe ſhe ſeeks to ſtrengthen
" herſelf with the intereſt of the houſe of Lorrain, as if ſhe was de-
" ſirous of ſome other protector than me; but, above all, her con-
" nexions and familiarities with Meſſieurs de Guiſe and de Joinville
" offend me to the laſt degree; being fully convinced, that from
" them ſhe will receive only ſuch counſels as are dangerous both to
" my perſon and ſtate; as likewiſe from her father and her brother,
" with whom, notwithſtanding my prohibition to her, ſhe ſtill cor-
" reſponds, when ſhe might have thought herſelf happy, that, at her
" entreaties, I ſpared their lives; that ſhe ſends meſſages to her bro-
" ther by his wife, whom I have allowed to viſit him; but that the
" chief cauſe of my enſtrangement from her is her inſolent behaviour
" to the queen."

Henry then told me many circumſtances concerning the marchioneſs, which I have already related. " If, continued he, either by an
" effect of your induſtry or good fortune, you can prevail upon her to
" alter her conduct in all theſe reſpects, you will not only free me
" from great uneaſineſs, and ſet my heart at reſt with regard to her,
" but you will likewiſe furniſh yourſelf with the means of diſpoſing
" the queen to accommodate herſelf to my will, which is the ſecond
" ſervice that I require and expect from you: you muſt remonſtrate
" to her, ſtill as from yourſelf, that it is abſolutely neceſſary ſhe ſhould
" do ſo, if ſhe would engage me to give her the ſatisfaction ſhe de-
" mands. That, among many other cauſes of diſguſt which ſhe gives

" me,

1608. " me, nothing is more insupportable to me, than that absolute autho-
" rity she suffers Conchini and his wife to have over her; that these
" people make her do whatever they please, oppose all that they dislike,
" and love and hate, as they direct her passions; that they have at
" length exhausted my patience; and that I often reproach myself for
" not following the advice given me by the duchess of Florence, Don
" John, Jouanini, Gondy, and even what my own judgment suggested,
" which was to send them both from Marseilles back to Italy. I was
" desirous, pursued the king, to repair this fault through the interpo-
" sition of Don John; but I soon perceived it was too late: for scarce
" did Don John enter upon the subject with the queen, to whom he
" proposed it by way of advice, than she entered, as you know, into
" such an excess of rage against him, that there was no sort of re-
" proaches, insults, and threats, which she did not use to him; so
" that, not able to endure them, he quitted France, notwithstanding
" all my endeavours to retain him. But before this happened the
" princess of Orange thought of other expedients for removing these
" two persons, and proposed them to me by Madam de Verneuil, who
" thought to prevail upon the queen, by this complaisance for her fa-
" vourites, to permit her to see her, and come freely to the Louvre.
" These expedients, to which I consented, because I found you did
" not oppose them, were to marry Conchini to la Leonor, and after-
" wards to send them back to Italy, under the honourable pretence
" of living with splendor in their own country, upon the great
" riches they had acquired in France: but all this, instead of soften-
" ing my wife, or engaging her to alter her conduct, has only taught
" her to oppose my will with more obstinacy than before; and
" the Conchinis, both husband and wife, are now become so insolent
" and audacious, that they have dared to threaten my person, if I use
" any violence to their friends."

It was not easy for the king to quit this article, through the rage with which he was agitated against this whole party. Among many others, he recounted the following circumstance, which, till then, I thought he had been ignorant of. My wife, knowing that Conchini had a design to purchase La-Ferté-au-Vidame, which was worth two or three hundred thousand crowns, she thought such a considerable estate would give occasion for murmurs that could not fail of reflecting back upon the queen herself, on account of the protection she was known to grant them. She did not hesitate therefore a moment about waiting on the queen, to represent to her, that it was her interest to hinder

hinder Conchini from puſhing this matter any further. The queen received this advice very graciouſly, and thanked my wife for giving it her: but as ſoon as ſhe ſaw the Conchinis, they knew ſo well how to make her alter her opinion, that ſhe exclaimed in a ſtrange manner againſt madame de Roſny, and would not ſee her for ſome time. Probably her reſentment would have laſted much longer, had ſhe not reflected, that both herſelf and her favourites had always occaſion for me. "I have been told, added Henry, that Conchini had the impudence to reproach your wife upon this occaſion, and uſed expreſſions "ſo full of inſolence both againſt her and me, that I am ſurpriſed ſhe "did not anſwer him more ſeverely; but, doubtleſs, ſhe was reſtrained "by her fears of breaking entirely with my wife. You cannot imagine," purſued Henry, not able to ceaſe his invectives againſt this Italian, "how greatly I was provoked to ſee this man undertake to be "the challenger at a tournament, againſt all the braveſt, and moſt "gallant men in France, and this in the Grande ruë St. Antoine, "where my wife and all the ladies of the court were preſent; and "that he ſhould have the good fortune to carry it: but nothing ever "gave me greater pleaſure than I had at this courſe, when I ſaw M. "de Nemours, and the marquis de Roſny your ſon, arrive, mounted "upon two excellent horſes, which they managed with equal grace, "and uncommon juſtneſs." 1608.

Henry, after dwelling ſome time longer upon a circumſtance that had given him ſo much pleaſure, renewed his former ſubject. "Be "careful, ſaid he to me, to manage thoſe two affairs I have recommended to you, cautiouſly; proceed leiſurely, and as opportunities "offer, without hazarding any thing by too great precipitation: in "a word, act with your uſual prudence, reſpect, and addreſs. I proteſt I ſhall eſteem theſe two ſervices more than if you had gained "me a battle, or taken the city and caſtle of Milan with your cannons; "for my heart ſuggeſts to me, that this man and woman will one day "do great miſchief: I find in them deſigns above their condition, and "abſolutely contrary to their duty." Again I aſked this prince, why he referred to me an affair the ſucceſs of which, in my hands, were ſo doubtful; whereas if he would undertake it himſelf, it would coſt him no more to execute it, than to pronounce to two women with a reſolute tone, theſe few words, "I will have it ſo." His reply to this and the debates that followed, were the ſame with thoſe which the reader has already too often ſeen in theſe memoirs. At laſt he went away, ſaying, with an embrace, "Adieu, my friend: I earneſtly recommend to you

1608. "theſe two affairs, for they are very near my heart: but, above all, "be ſecret."

All that by my utmoſt endeavour I was able to do for the tranquillity of this prince, was to procure him ſome ſhort calms, amidſt the long and often repeated ſtorms he was obliged to ſuffer, in ſuch an unequal viciſſitude did he paſs the few days that heaven ſtill left him. One of his longeſt intervals of quiet was, during the queen's lying-in. She had followed the king, who went in the beginning of March to Fontainebleau. It was not poſſible to carry tenderneſs and ſollicitude farther than Henry did. While ſhe was in this condition, he often writ to me from Fontainebleau, and in every letter gave me account of the queen's health. "I thought," ſaid he in one of theſe letters, "to have "ſent you the news of my wife's being brought to bed; but I believe "it will not be this night." In another, "My wife imagines ſhe will "go to the end of the month, ſince ſhe has paſſed yeſterday." The queen was delivered of her third ſon * on the 26th of April.

The king ſtill continuing to write to me as uſual, in one of his letters ordered me to acquaint him how the news of his ſon's birth was received. "Not by you, ſaid he, for there I have no doubt; but by "the public." I keep with great care the following letter, which his majeſty ſent me by the duke of Rohan, upon hearing that my wife had lain-in of a ſon about the ſame time that the queen did. "I do not be-"lieve, that any of my ſervants have taken greater intereſt in the birth "of my ſon d'Anjou than you; and I would have you likewiſe be-"lieve, that I ſurpaſs all your friends in joy for the birth of yours: you "will be ſtun'd with their flatteries; but the aſſurance I give you of "my friendſhip, ought to be more convincing than all their ſpeeches. "Remember me to the lying-in lady †."

The queen was more indiſpoſed after this lying-in, than ſhe had ever been before; but proper remedies being uſed, ſhe was ſoon reſtored to perfect health. The king took all imaginable care of her. He came to Paris the beginning of May, but returned almoſt imme-

* Gaſton-John-Baptiſt of France, then called duke of Anjou, and afterwards duke of Orleans: he died in 1660. Siri makes Henry IV. ſay, before the birth of that prince, that he would dedicate him to the church, and that he ſhould be called the cardinal of France. Ibid. 568.

† "I ſhould be glad, ſays Henry IV. "God had ſent him a dozen ſons; for it "would be a great pity, that from ſo good "a ſtem there ſhould not be ſome offsets." Mem. Hiſt. de France, ibid.

diately

diately after to Fontainebleau; and the joy the queen ſhewed at his return filled him with a real ſatisfaction. He allowed, at the requeſt of this princeſs, that ten or twelve thouſand crowns ſhould be expended on buildings at Monceaux, and ſent me orders to that purpoſe. It is from theſe letters of his majeſty that I collect all theſe circumſtances. This order he repeated when the maſter-builder, who had undertaken the work, informed him, that he had been obliged, through want of money, to diſmiſs his men. I had given him an aſſignment upon a reſtitution of money to be paid by the nephew of Argouges, which he had not yet done, pretending, to gain time, that he owed nothing. The king ſent me orders to preſs him for the payment, and to advance the maſter-builder the money out of other funds, without referring him to Freſne, who could not be forced to pay it. Being apprehenſive that I ſhould give credit to the reports which were made me of the queen's being diſguſted, and that ſhe ſought a pretence for quarrelling with me, he, in another letter, for a proof of the contrary, related to me in what manner this princeſs had taken my part againſt M. and madame de Ventadour, who had made ſome complaints of me to their majeſties. 1608.

One could not give Henry a more ſenſible pleaſure, than by conforming one's ſelf to that complaiſance which he had for every one with whom he lived in any degree of friendſhip or familiarity. I received from him a gracious acknowledgment for ſome ſervices rendered to madame de Verneuil and madame de Moret, and for the methods I made uſe of to free him from mademoiſelle des Eſſarts. This young lady began to be extremely troubleſome to him: ſhe had the preſumption to expect ſhe ſhould have the ſame aſcendant over him as his other miſtreſſes. At laſt, however, ſhe ſeemed willing to retire into the abbey of Beaumont, and named certain conditions, upon which Zamet and La Varenne were often ſent by Henry to confer with me. He gave himſelf the trouble to write to the preſident de Motteville, concerning the place of a Maitre-des-Comptes at Rouen, which the young lady requeſted from one of her friends: and to Montauban, to advance the money for the purchaſe. There was a neceſſity likewiſe for giving her a thouſand crowns, and five hundred to the abbey of Beaumont, which ſhe had choſen for her retreat *. Both theſe ſums the king demanded of me, in a letter dated the 12th of May: happy indeed, to get rid of her at ſo eaſy a rate!

* She did not retire thither; or, at leaſt, if ſhe did, ſhe did not ſtay long there.

1608. He likewiſe deſired my advice, as to the manner in which he ſhould behave to avoid a quarrel with the queen, on an occaſion when Conchini became a competitor with madame de Verneuil, for a favour which that lady had obtained a promiſe for two years before. "I "love," ſaid he in his letter, "Madame de Verneuil better than Con-"chini." Which indeed was not to be doubted: but at that time he was obliged to act with great circumſpection towards the queen. This gave riſe to an intrigue at court, that afforded great pleaſure to ſeveral perſons, which I cannot better explain than by the following letter the king writ me from Fontainebleau:

"Although I have parted with madame de Verneuil upon very "bad terms, yet I cannot help having ſome curioſity to know, if there "be any foundation for the report which prevails here, that the prince "of Joinville viſits her: learn the truth of it, and give me notice in "a letter, which I will burn, as you muſt do this. It is this that re-"tains him ſo long, ſay they: you know well it is not for want of "money." The report was indeed true: Joinville had ſuffered himſelf to be captivated by the charms of the marchioneſs, who, as it was ſaid, did not let him deſpair. For a long time, nothing was talked of but their intimacy, and the very paſſionate letters which it was pretended they writ to each other; and it was at laſt confidently reported, that he had offered to marry her: it muſt be obſerved, that all this I repeat after the court and Paris. Trifling as this affair may ſeem, there were in it ſome circumſtances relating to the king, of ſuch conſequence as to make a profound ſecrecy neceſſary. If matters had really gone ſo far between the two lovers as people were willing to believe, madame de Verneuil, notwithſtanding all her experience, was here the dupe: ſhe was not ſufficiently well acquainted with the diſpoſition and conduct of a young man, ſtill leſs amorous than raſh and heedleſs: promiſes, oaths, privacies, letters, all, in a very little time, ended in a rupture, which was equally imputed to both. However, to ſay the truth, the fault lay on madame de Villars *, who appeared too beautiful in the eyes of Joinville to leave his heart faithful to its firſt choice.

Madam de Villars did not at firſt appear ſo eaſy a conqueſt as her rival had been: proud of her alliance with the blood-royal, ſhe treated him with diſtance and reſerve. Joinville repulſed, and in deſpair, ex-

* Juliet-Hyppolita d'Eſtrees, wife of George de Brancas, marquis of Villars.

torted

torted from her a confeſſion of the cauſe of her rigour. She told him, 1608.
that after the correſpondence he had, and ſtill continued to carry on, with a lady ſo beautiful and witty as Madame de Verneuil, it would be dangerous to rely on his fidelity. Joinville defended himſelf; it is not neceſſary to ſay in what terms. She refuted him, by alledging their interviews, and letters; one in particular from Madame de Verneuil, more tender and paſſionate than the reſt. On ſuch an occaſion, it is a cuſtom to make to the beloved lady, a ſacrifice of her letters who was abandoned. Joinville reſiſted as long as he was able; but, at laſt, put into the hands of Madame de Villars that pretended letter: (I ſay pretended, becauſe it was far from being certain that this letter, which he was prevailed upon with ſo much difficulty to ſhew, ever came from Madame de Verneuil) But be that as it will; for the uſe Madame de Villars intended to make of this letter, it was indifferent to her whether it was forged or not.

This woman had an inveterate hatred to the marchioneſs of Verneuil: the moment ſhe had the letter in her poſſeſſion, ſhe flew with it to the king. It was not difficult, with ſuch a proof, to force belief; and ſhe made ſuch an artful uſe of it, that this prince, hitherto ignorant, or willing to ſeem ſo, of the greateſt part of the intrigue, came inſtantly to me, with a heart filled with grief and rage, and related to me I know not how many circumſtances, which to him appeared as certain proofs of her guilt; tho' I thought them far from being convincing. I told him, for it was neceſſary to treat this affair methodically, that he ought to hear what Madame de Verneuil could ſay for herſelf, before he condemned her. "Oh! heavens, hear her, "cried Henry, ſhe has ſuch a power of expreſſion, that if I liſten "to her, ſhe will perſuade me I am to blame, and that ſhe is injured: "yet I will ſpeak to her, and ſhew her theſe proofs of her perfidy." In effect, he went away breathing nothing but vengeance. Joinville's intrigues with the governor of Franche Comté ſeemed to him not half ſo criminal.

The marchioneſs of Verneuil, long accuſtomed to theſe ſort of tranſports, was not much alarmed; and maintained to the king, that Joinville had been wicked enough to forge this letter. Henry, ſoftened by a circumſtance which had not entered into his head before, became almoſt entirely ſatisfied, when ſhe propoſed to him, to ſubmit it to my judgment, whether the hand-writing was her's or not, ſenſible that no colluſion could be ſuſpected between us; ſhe not having an exceſs of confidence in me, nor I too much eſteem for her. Accordingly the papers

1608. pers were put into my hands, and a day fixed for the decision of this cause, which was to be determined at the house of the marchioness. I went thither in the morning, and was introduced into her closet, where she waited both for her accuser and her judge; in an undress that expressed great negligence.

I had already begun to question her, when Henry came in with Montbazon: I am not permitted to relate the rest; for the king would not suffer any of those that came with him to be present at this conference: however, they heard us talk very loud, and the marchioness weep. The king went from her apartment into another, and desiring all that were there to withdraw, took me to one of the most distant windows to examine the papers with him more exactly. This was not done so calmly, but those that were without might hear us discourse with great heat; and that I went often backwards and forwards, between the lady's closet and the place where the king stood. The conclusion of this scene was, that the king went away entirely satisfied with his mistress*. As for Joinville, whatever part he had acted, it was happy for him that it was Henry with whom he had to do; and the more so, as he engaged, almost immediately afterwards, in another intrigue of the same nature with Madame de Moret †, which I was not acquainted with.

* In the Memoirs of Bassompierre, Vol. I. p. 92. I find the following account of this intrigue: "A few days afterwards "happened the difference between madam "de Verneuil and the king, which had "its origin from madam de Villars' having "shewn the king some letters which ma- "dam de Verneuil had wrote to the "prince of Joinville, and which he had "given her. The affair was accommo- "dated by the duke of Eguillon's bringing "to the king a clerk of Bigot, who con- "fessed that he had forged those letters; "and the prince of Joinville was banish- "ed." Our Memoirs mention this to have happened this year; but it was in the year 1603, upon the return of Henry IV. from his journey to Metz.

† The Memoirs for the History of France give this account of it: "The "prince of Joinville having made his ad- "dresses to one of the king's favourites, "who was one of those whom Tertullian "calls *Publicarum libidinum victimæ*; "she, to excuse herself, alledged the "prince had given her a promise of mar- "riage. He thereby incurred the king's "displeasure, who commanded him either "to banish himself, or marry the lady. "At first, he put on the appearance of "being willing to marry her, and to go on "with what he had begun: but at last he "declared, that he had never any such "intention; and said aloud, That, the "king only excepted, if any gentleman, "or any one of whatever quality, had gi- "ven him such language, he would have "set both his feet on his neck. The "count de Lude hearing of this, said it "was the sentiment of a hangman. Ma- "dam de Guise, in tears, came and threw "herself at the king's feet, and, as if she "were in the extremest despair, begged of "his majesty to kill her. To which the "king answered, I have never killed any "ladies, and I do not know how to go

The

1608.

The count of Sommerive * was likewiſe hardy enough to become the rival of his maſter, and to make the counteſs of Moret the object of his gallantries, with whom he began by a propoſal of marriage; and it was believed, that he had given her a promiſe in writing: for to a young man tranſported with paſſion, the one coſts as little as the other. The king, when he was informed of it, approved of the match, and employed La Borde, a gentleman whom he knew to be more faithfully devoted to him than any of thoſe that reſorted to the counteſs's houſe, to diſcover if they were ſincere on both ſides, and to take care to prevent the youth from tranſgreſſing the bounds of his duty. La Borde's report was not very favourable to the count of Sommerive, who, at firſt, had ſome thoughts of murdering this troubleſome Argus; and meeting him one day as he was coming from church, he fell upon him ſo furiouſly, that La Borde, to ſave his life, was obliged to have recourſe to flight. The king commanded me to examine into this fact, which, in his fury, he called an aſſaſſination. The time Sommerive had choſen for it, and the diſreſpect it ſhewed for the king, rendered him ſtill more guilty.

However, it being neceſſary to obſerve ſome caution, tho' it were only in conſideration of La Borde; for the king was ſenſible, that Sommerive was a far more dangerous perſon to deal with than Joinville; La Varenne came to me from his majeſty, to conſult upon proper meaſures for managing this affair, without wounding his own authority; and we agreed that the beſt expedient was, to prevail upon the duke of Maïenne himſelf to do the king juſtice, with regard to the offence his ſon had committed againſt him: I was charged with this meſſage, and the conduct of it left wholly to my judgment. I found

" about it. Thoſe, adds he, who were " eſteemed to be the moſt knowing at " court, gave out it was the king himſelf " who had induced the counteſs to do " what ſhe did."

" I gave notice, ſays Baſſompierre in " his Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 205, to the " prince of Joinville, and madame de Mo- " ret, of the deſign the king had to ſur- " priſe them together. They were not " found together; but the king diſcovered " enough to forbid Mon. de Chevreuſe, " the name the prince of Joinville then " bore the court; and would have done " the ſame by her, had ſhe not been on " the point of being brought to bed: but " time made up this difference." Henry gave orders to take the prince of Joinville into cuſtody; but he eſcaped out of the kingdom, and did not return till after the death of Henry IV. his family having never been able to prevail on the king to recal him. Galanteries des Rois de France.

* Charles-Emanuel de Lorrain, ſecond ſon of the duke of Maïenne.

the

1608. the duke of Maïenne ſo ill with a fit of the gout, which was attended with a high fever, that there was no poſſibility of ſpeaking to him, eſpecially upon ſuch a ſubject. The duke of Eguillon *, Sommerive's eldeſt brother, told me, that this action of his brother was not more deeply reſented by any perſon than by his own family: that it had been the cauſe of his father's illneſs; and wiſhed himſelf dead, as well as this unworthy brother, rather than to become the reproach of their relations. He added, that the king himſelf knew but too well how Sommerive treated them all, tho', for the honour of the family, they concealed his behaviour from the public: that this laſt offence gave them inconceivable affliction. And after entreating me to aſſiſt him with my advice, he declared that he would go himſelf, if his majeſty required it, to receive his orders, and would execute them, whatever they were, upon his own brother: and that, for himſelf, he would rather loſe his life than fail in the oath he had taken, to obey his maſter with all the fidelity and zeal of a ſervant and ſubject.

To conceal from D'Eguillon that I had been commiſſioned by the king to come thither, I told him, that I would not adviſe him to go to his majeſty, becauſe I did not know whether he was yet informed of the affair; but that, in twenty-four hours, I would give him ſuch advice as I thought moſt for his intereſt (for ſo long it required to ſend to Fontainebleau to know his majeſty's intentions.) I, therefore, contented myſelf, at preſent, with repreſenting to him the atrociouſneſs of Sommerive's crime, and the fatal conſequences that might attend it. He exclaimed againſt it himſelf, with a ſincerity which I thought it my duty to relate to his majeſty, telling him, at the ſame time, that he had only to pronounce what ſatisfaction he required, the family fearing nothing ſo much as the loſs of his favour.

Henry ſent me notice, by Villeroi, that he was ſatisfied with what D'Eguillon had ſaid to me, although he was convinced that all this rage againſt Sommerive would not hinder them carrying it with a high hand in public, as they had already done upon other occaſions of the ſame kind: he ordered me to make the whole houſe of Lorrain ſenſible how greatly they were indebted to his indulgence, in referring to them the chaſtiſement of Sommerive; that he expected they would immediately oblige him to retire, tho' it were only to Soiſſons, as being un-

* Henry de Lorrain, duke of Eguillon, and afterwards of Maïenne.

worthy

worthy to ſtay in a place where his majeſty was; that D'Eguillon ſhould come and tell him what reſolution they had taken, in the mean while, till he ſhould himſelf name the puniſhment; offer to be ſecurity for Sommerive's appearance, and even conduct him to the Baſtile, if ſuch was the king's pleaſure; or make him leave the kingdom, and not return till after the expiration of two or three years. Henry inſinuated, that it was this laſt part he ſhould take, although it required ſome conſideration, on account of Sommerive's intrigues with Spain. The king had been told that this young nobleman had endeavoured to prevail upon the count of St. Paul to go with him to Holland, with an intention to enter into the ſervice of the archdukes; that he had taken the advice of Du Terrail, and, as ſoon as the fact was committed, had ſent ſome of his ſervants to Flanders. It was neither to that country, nor to any other dependant upon the Spaniards, which his majeſty choſe he ſhould retire to, but towards Nancy, from whence he might paſs to the emperor's court, or into Hungary, that country being moſt agreeable to his majeſty. 1608.

To this letter of Villeroi's was added a ſhort billet, addreſſed to me, by the king, and contained only theſe few words: "I muſt tell you, "that the beſt of the whole race is worth but little: God grant I may "be miſtaken." However, he was not diſpleaſed with D'Eguillon's behaviour, when he waited on him at Fontainebleau: his majeſty only thought that he ſhewed ſome little affectation in endeavouring to extenuate his brother's offence. The king told him, that it was his will Sommerive ſhould retire to Lorrain, and not ſtir from thence without his permiſſion. I was commiſſioned to notify this order to the duke of Maïenne, his majeſty being willing, at the entreaties of D'Eguillon, to ſpare him the ungrateful taſk.

D'Eguillon did not make a proper application of the leſſons the king gave him in relation to his brother. No one was ignorant of the affection his majeſty had for Balagny*: he had lately given a proof of it, by maintaining him in the poſſeſſion of the greffes of Bordeaux, of which the contractors endeavoured to deprive him. D'Eguillon had the imprudence to quarrel with him upon ſome affairs of gallantry indeed, and the baſeneſs, ſome time after, to attack him when he was almoſt

* Damien de Montluc, lord of Balagny, ſon of John prince of Cambray, and of Renée de Clermont de Buſſy d'Amboiſe: he was, at that time, only 25 or 26 years old, and unmarried.

1608. alone, while himſelf was accompanied with a body of armed men. The prejudice Henry already had to this family increaſed the indignation he felt for this attempt. In the firſt emotions of his anger, he writ to me, that being reſolved to puniſh D'Eguillon for it, he earneſtly entreated me to forget the friendſhip I had hitherto had for this family, ſince I ought to ſet a much higher value upon that of my king. This letter afforded me a proof of this prince's great knowledge of mankind: he predicted to me, that all the obligations I ſhould confer on D'Eguillon would be forgot, if, through any change of my fortune, I ſhould be incapable of adding to them: and this prediction has been fully accompliſhed.

However, I was then perſuaded of the contrary, and liſtening only to what my friendſhip for the whole houſe of Lorrain ſuggeſted to me, the king's letter, which his courier, meeting me at my return from Sully, delivered to me at Montargis, did not hinder me from anſwering his majeſty immediately, and that only to do the very thing he had forbid me, which was the ſoliciting a pardon for D'Eguillon, without deferring it till I went to court, which I propoſed to do immediately afterwards. My letter was not unuſeful to D'Eguillon, when he preſented himſelf to his majeſty to clear himſelf of the charge. This is what the king himſelf writ me, May 22d: "Your letter came very "ſeaſonably; for he arrived this night, and talked to me in ſuch a "manner, that I was ſcarce able to reſtrain my anger. Certainly "this youth grows very inſolent." I did not however abandon his intereſt. When I went to Fontainebleau, I found the king's reſentment ſo violent, that there was a neceſſity for all the perſeverance the warmeſt friendſhip is capable of to vanquiſh it. I obtained, at length, that this affair ſhould be left to me, to make up in the beſt manner I could. I ſurmounted, with the ſame ſteadineſs of friendſhip, many other difficulties, which were not inferior to this; and believed that, all was forgotten on both ſides, congratulating myſelf upon my ſucceſs when I heard in what manner D'Eguillon talked of this good office in public, and the gratitude he expreſſed to me for it.

Yet this man, without faith and without humanity, diſhonoured himſelf and me, a ſhort time afterwards, by completing the crime, which I had ſo lately obtained his pardon for attempting, and procured Balagny to be aſſaſſinated. The letter his majeſty writ to me upon it, will give the reader the trueſt notion of this crime. "My friend, you "have doubtleſs heard of the wicked action committed upon Balagny:

"I

" I would not write you an account of it, till I had heard all the in- 1608.
" formations; for, on ſuch occaſions, the parties are not to be be-
" lieved. Things are worſe than you can imagine: he has violated
" the promiſe he made to you, and irreparably wounded his honour,
" by the extreme cowardice and cruelty of falling upon a ſingle man
" with numbers. I had rather a ſon of mine were dead, than that he
" ſhould be guilty of ſuch an action. The bearer will tell you the par-
" ticulars. The relations of both have attempted to fight; but I have
" taken care to prevent it. Adieu. I love you ſincerely, and with
" this truth I conclude."

But Henry (for I felt too much horror at this indignity to dwell on it any longer) was himſelf in fact to blame, ſince it was through his eaſineſs of temper, that the rage of duelling had ſpread through the court, the city, and over the whole kingdom *; and to ſuch exceſs was it carried, that it gave me, and even his majeſty himſelf, infinite fatigue and trouble, to compoſe differences, and to hinder, each day, the diſputants from proceeding to the laſt extremities. Before the affair of Balagny happened, the baron de Courtaumer came to tell me, that he was buſy in reconciling his two nephews, M. the prince of Conti, and the prince of Joinville. Montigny quarrelled, for no cauſe, with D'Epernon, whom I wa ordered to pacify. " For you know," ſaid Henry in his letter, " that he will always be the maſter." The forcibly carrying away of a young lady occaſioned a combat between the families of La-Force and St. Germain. St. Germain, the ſon, who was the raviſher, being ſent for by the chancellor, in the king's name, left Paris, inſtead of obeying, and went to his father, which made his majeſty apprehenſive that he would divulge, amongſt foreigners, ſome important orders which he could not be ignorant that he had given to La-Force.

This eaſineſs of temper in the king was the true cauſe of that licentiouſneſs and ſedition which had infected the court and the kingdom, and which his majeſty ſo deeply lamented: the gentry had taken it from the nobility, and the nobility from the princes of the blood. The count of Soiſſons publickly ſhewed his diſcontent. The prince of Condé, by indiſcreet ſallies, ſome indeed only worthy of laughter, and

* Lomenie computed, in 1607, how many French gentlemen had been killed in duels, ſince Henry IV. came to the crown. The number was found to be full 4000. Mem. Hiſt. de Fr. ibid.

1608. others of conſequence enough to give great cauſe of uneaſineſs to his majeſty, almoſt exhauſted his patience. It was believed, that marriage would cure his impetuoſity and wildneſs; and mademoiſelle de Montmorency * was the wife the king choſe for him. It was this marriage that completed Henry's domeſtic troubles, as we ſhall ſee in the following year.

The difficulties that aroſe, concerning the marriage of Mademoiſelle de Mercœur increaſed his diſlike of the whole houſe of Lorrain. She had been contracted to M. de Vendome, in the year 1598, when the king took a journey to Brittany. The parties were now of age to conſummate the marriage; but the mother and grand-mother of the young lady had taken care to inſpire her with ſuch an averſion for M. de Vendome, that ſhe would not ſuffer him to ſpeak to her. The prince of Condé, who was not then married, would have been a more agreeable match, in all their opinions; but, ſince that could not take place, the ducheſs was unwilling to let her daughter's large eſtates go out of the family. The king could not help thinking, that the dukes of Guiſe and Maïenne contributed to ſupport this lady in her obſtinate reſiſtance to his will. I often combated this opinion, and repreſented to his majeſty, that, on this occaſion, he did not do them juſtice, which in the end he had reaſon to be convinced of, by the little oppoſition they made to his intentions, when they were declared to them by the marquiſs D'Oraiſon, whom they had ſent to his majeſty.

The readieſt and the ſureſt way for Henry to accompliſh this marriage, was to have aſſumed his authority, and given them an abſolute command to fulfil the contract: but this prince † had leſs inclination to take ſuch meaſures on this occaſion than on any other. It only remained then, either to endeavour, by gentleneſs and perſuaſion, to prevail upon the ladies, or to have recourſe to the deciſion of the law, which muſt undoubtedy have been in his favour, were his majeſty to be treated with the ſame impartiality as any private man: but this was to draw it out into length, by the delays and tricks of the courts of

* Margaret Charlotte of Montmorency.

† Henry, in his anger, threatened the ducheſs de Mercœur to make her pay two hundred thouſand crowns for damages, beſides the penalty of a hundred thouſand for breach of covenant. The ducheſs, on her part, cauſed the king to be told, that he might not only take the hundred thouſand crowns, but all her eſtates beſides, if he was entitled to them. Her daughter retired to a nunnery of capuchins, with intent to take the veil. Mem. Hiſt. de Fr. ibid.

juſtice;

juſtice. It would take up a conſiderable time to bring up only the letters of attorney from Lorrain, without which the proceedings could not be begun: and it would be two months before the affair could be terminated, although his majeſty ſhould interpoſe his authority, to oblige them to diſpenſe with the accuſtomed formalities in his favour. However, gentle methods were far more eligible, ſince not only the union of two perſons, but that of ſeveral families, were concerned in it. There ſtill remained many reſources for a young woman forced from her relations, and obliged to marry, in ſpite of herſelf, to regain her liberty, although all the ceremonies were performed that ſhould ſeem to have deprived her of it, eſpecially if ſhe could not be prevented from privately receiving bad counſels. For theſe reaſons, therefore, I adviſed his majeſty to try gentle methods, in the long letter I ſent him in anſwer to his. 1608.

For this purpoſe many conferences were held at the houſes of the two ducheſſes, at that of the ducheſs of Guiſe, aunt to the young lady, and at the princeſs of Conti's, during which time M. de Vendome was kept at a diſtance, his majeſty having ſent him under the conduct of La Vallée into Brittany. As for me, I thought no perſon better qualified to manage this negotiation than father Cotton. I adviſed the king to employ him, and he ſucceeded ſo well, that at the time when the king was moſt fully perſuaded he ſhould never terminate this affair but by the ordinary courſe of law, and had already writ to the firſt preſident on this ſubject, this father, on a ſudden, gave him hopes that it would be concluded by other means. The art of directing conſciences, in which he excelled, gave him up immediately the firſt point, and not the leaſt eſſential. They began to ceaſe their invectives, which only nouriſhed hatred and diſguſt. Father Cotton did not fail to go as often as he could to the king, to give him an account of the progreſs he had made; and his majeſty, from time to time, ſent him to the chancellor and me to take our advice, and was highly pleaſed with the ſervice he did him upon this occaſion.

The mother and the daughter were the firſt that were prevailed upon; but not without the ducheſs's giving ſuch free ſcope to her reſentment againſt the king, her relations, and all the world, that Henry believed he ſhould never find a favourable moment to obtain her conſent, but exhorted me, if ſuch a one ever offered, not to let it eſcape. The grand-mother, and ſome other confidants of the ducheſs's, as La Porte the confeſſor, continued a long time obſtinate: but, at length, all

1608. all were appeaſed, and the marriage was celebrated *. The king was not quite freed from his ſuſpicion, that the Guiſes, and all the princes of the houſe of Lorrain, ſought, in reality, to deceive him, under an appearance of the greateſt reſpect and deference; for which reaſon, when the poſt of firſt preſident of the chamber of accounts in Provence became vacant by the death of Beauville, and the duke of Guiſe ſolicited it for one of his friends, as likewiſe the counteſs of Sault for one of hers, he denied them both. "They have both been "ſupporters of the league," ſaid he; and this was all the reaſon he gave me for it, when he writ to me to conſult with the chancellor about filling up this place with one more fit for it.

Not all the arguments I uſed to the king, could prevent him from giving, if I may uſe the expreſſion, a right to every one to diſturb his quiet, by continually bringing him informations againſt the moſt illuſtrious perſons in the kingdom, as well catholics as proteſtants. Sometimes he was told, that the duke of Bouillon, Du-Pleſſis, and other heads of the reformed religion, were levying troops; ſometimes that it was agreed upon between them, M. the prince, M. the count, and even all thoſe that had been the greateſt ſupporters of the league againſt them, to take poſſeſſion of ſeveral towns. Another time, it was ſaid, that the duke of Roannais held aſſemblies in Anjou, which Pont-Courlai writ alſo to me: but nothing ſo much alarmed his majeſty as the advice he received from a gentleman of Poitou; for this province was always made the ſeat of rebellion. This man ſaid, that he had been preſent at aſſemblies of a great number of gentlemen, who acted in the names of almoſt all the grandees of the kingdom, beſides the proteſtants, in which he was a witneſs; that they had fixed upon a day for ſeizing a great number of towns, which he named, and had delivered out money for the making proviſion of ſcaling-ladders, petards, arms, ammunition, neceſſary for the enterpriſe.

The king was at Fontainebleau without any train, and only with a deſign to make ſome parties for hunting, when this informer was preſented to him; he ſent him back to Paris, with orders to wait on Sillery and Villeroi, to whom he gave ſuch exact memorials, that the

* The 7th of July in the year following. "The nuptials," ſay the Memoirs de l'Hiſt. de France, "were ſplendid "and magnificent: the king ſhone all "over with jewels of an ineſtimable va- "lue; he ran at the ring, and ſeldom "failed of carrying the prize."

king

king was no longer in doubt of the truth of his report, and, full of apprehenſions, returned inſtantly to Paris through Melun, and entered the city at the gate of St. Antoine. He ſent St. Michael immediately for me, having matters, he ſaid, of the utmoſt conſequence to communicate to me. My wife and my children being then in the city with all the coaches of the houſe, I was obliged to wait till one was ſent me by Phelipeaux. 1608.

I found the king ſhut up in the queen's little cloſet; with him were that princeſs, the chancellor, and Villeroi, buſy in examining thoſe papers which had heated the lively imagination of Henry. "Well, "Monſieur Obſtinacy," ſaid he to me as I entered, "here is the war "begun." So much the better, Sire, ſaid I; for it can be only againſt the Spaniards. "No, no, anſwered he, it is againſt much nearer "neighbours, ſupported by all your huguenots." All the huguenots, returned I; ah, Sire, what makes you imagine ſo? I will anſwer for many, that they do not entertain the leaſt notion of it, and I am ready to anſwer for almoſt all the reſt, that they dare not. "Did I not tell you, my dear," ſaid his majeſty, turning to the queen, "that he would not believe this? according to him, no one dare give "me the leaſt offence, and it depends only upon myſelf to give law to "all the world." It is true, Sire, I replied, and ſo you may whenever you pleaſe.

Villeroi and Sillery attempted to ſupport his majeſty's opinion, that this was a moſt dangerous conſpiracy. I repreſented to them, that it was great weakneſs to ſuffer themſelves to be intimidated thus by mere trifles: I took the paper out of their hands, and could not help ſmiling when I found, that, of this formidable body of rebels, only ten or a dozen poor inconſiderable gentlemen and ſoldiers were mentioned, whoſe perſons I knew, being, in reality, in my government; and five or ſix villages, as La-Haye in Touraine, St. John d'Angle, La-Rochepozai, St. Savin, and Chauvigny-le-Blanc in Berry. Pardieu, Sire, reſumed I with ſome emotion, theſe gentlemen mean to jeſt both with your majeſty and me, by making theſe idle reports of conſequence enough to affect you with any apprehenſions, and inducing you to take meaſures to prevent what will never happen. The whole myſtery is this: one of your ſubjects has an inclination to get a hundred crowns from you.

"Not-

1608. "Notwithstanding all you can say, replied the king, I am convinced that there is a neceſſity for my going thither, or elſe that you "ſhould ſet out in two days, and give proper orders there for keeping "every thing quiet." If you would conſent, Sire, replied I, after liſtening patiently to a long detail he made me of the artillery, ammunition, and other warlike ſtores neceſſary for this expedition, to let me manage it my own way, I will engage to bring this affair to a concluſion, without much trouble or expence. "Pardieu, ſaid Henry, you "are the moſt obſtinate man I ever ſaw; well, what would you ſay?" Sire, anſwered I, I only deſire you will give me Moret the prevôt, and twenty archers, and I will bring you a good account of theſe rebels. "You will have it ſo," ſaid Henry, vanquiſhed by my perſeverance; "but if any accident ſhould happen, you will have all the "blame." However, the king's fears were wholly groundleſs. My whole army conſiſted of twenty horſe, with which I ſeized all thoſe perſons that had been accuſed, very few of whom were puniſhed, his majeſty finding moſt of them innocent, and that the others were not worth troubling himſelf with.

The aſſembly of proteſtants, which it was neceſſary ſhould be held this year, for appointing the two deputies-general, ſeemed to the king to merit ſtill more attention, on account of the preſent ſituation of affairs. He ordered me to aſſiſt at it for the third time; and that I might do ſo with the greater conveniency, the aſſembly was ſummoned to meet at Gergeau, of which I was governor, and where I could direct every thing from my eſtate of Sully, which extended to the gates of that city. I ſhall be ſilent as to the article of my inſtructions. On the 3d of October, when I wrote for the firſt time to Villeroi, the aſſembly had not yet taken any form, although the members had met ſome days before; for they ſtill expected ſome of the provincial deputies. When I found, that, by one ſingle word, I had put all the diſaffected to ſilence, I took upon myſelf to anſwer for it to his majeſty, that nothing would be done in it contrary to his will; which, however, he could not be perſuaded to believe. All the letters I received from the king and Villeroi were filled with complaints of the proteſtants. "Send back my courier immediately," ſaid the king in one of his letters, "there are people at Gergeau whom there is no dealing with: "they have treated you like a catholic; I knew they would do ſo: and "four days ago, I ſaw a letter from Saumur which preſcribed the "manner."

It

It is certain, that there was, at firſt, ſome tumult in the aſſembly, and upon this account in particular, that his majeſty had ſent two catholic governors into the cities of Montendre and Tartas, which they alledged had been yielded to them by the king. They ſupported their demands by the tenor of the edicts, and complained that Caumont had been taken from them in the ſame manner. Chambaut, Du-Bourg, and Du-Ferrier, were ſent, by the aſſembly, to me at Sully, with meſſages full of ſubmiſſion to his majeſty, to whom they had likewiſe reſolved to depute two or three of their body upon the ſame ſubject. As I knew his majeſty would not receive this deputation favourably, I endeavoured to diſſuade them from that deſign: I repreſented to them, that I had no commiſſion from the king to treat upon this article; but that I would write about it to him. I excuſed myſelf from having any thing to do with regard to Moncenis, a place upon which they had the ſame pretenſions as the two former, becauſe it belonged to M. the count. 1608.

I writ to Villeroi what the aſſembly had propoſed, charging him to repreſent to the king, that, if he was willing this affair ſhould not be protracted, it would be neceſſary to ſatisfy ſuch of their demands as were juſt, or promiſe, at leaſt, to do ſo, when he ſhould return an anſwer to them: to which his majeſty conſented. This article diſpatched, which was one of the eight propoſed by the aſſembly, I told them, that, of thoſe that remained, five were to be brought before the council, as falling under the cognizance of that tribunal; and that they ought now to ſettle the principal affair, which was the appointing the two deputies. His majeſty notified his intentions to them on this ſubject, which were conformable to what he had declared to them before, as has been ſeen when I treated of the general aſſembly held at Châtelleraut: and this affair was likewiſe concluded to the entire ſatisfaction of both parties, by means of a propoſal I made to the king, to appoint Villarnou to be deputy for the nobility, and Mirande for thoſe of the ſecond order. The former would have been choſen the preceding year, if he had not been propoſed in a manner contrary to the form preſcribed by the king. He went immediately to receive his orders, bearing a letter from me to the king, who ſummed up to him, in a few words, the duties of his office, and ſeemed very well ſatisfied with his choice.

The aſſembly, after this, continued no longer than was neceſſary to receive the brevet of the deputies acceptation, and all was over before

1608. the 1st of November. His majesty, in every letter he writ to me, recommended to me, in particular, to be speedy in settling this business, to return to him as soon as possible, and always concluded with his usual expressions of kindness. The last courier that I dispatched to him found him at the arsenal, from whence, as Villeroi informed me in his letter, he returned at seven in the evening, making him write to me at eight, not being willing to do it himself, for fear of keeping the courier too long.

When I returned, I gave his majesty a more exact account than I had done in my letters, of all that has passed at Gergeau, and of the pacific dispositions in which I had found a great number of the best and most considerable persons of the protestant body. His majesty was then at Fontainebleau, where he staid as long this year as any of the former ones: he had returned thither the middle of May, after that short journey to Paris which I have mentioned, and staid there all June and July; in August he went back to Paris, from whence he went to St. Germain, and afterwards to Monceaux, where he staid fifteen days; and, passing through Fontainebleau, came to Paris the beginning of October, while I was still at Gergeau; in the middle of October he went again to Fontainebleau, where he staid all the remainder of that month, and part of November, and then returned to Paris to dispatch his affairs. I have already observed that this manner of living was only fatiguing to himself, and a few of his principal ministers.

He was not, this year, afflicted with any dangerous distemper. In a letter he writ to me from Fontainebleau, dated June 2d, he says, "I have had a fever, which has lasted two days and a night, but it "only proceeds from a cold, which, by the help of God, I hope will "not have any bad consequences. I am resolved to take more care of "my health than I have done hitherto: this you may depend upon, "as also upon the assurance I give you of my affection for you." Yet he still continued the fatigue of the chace. From St. Germain he writ to me, that he had taken a stag in an hour: that he went afterwards to bed, where he lay another hour, and then went to walk in his gardens, and to visit his manufacturers. Henry, while this cold in his head continued, wet eight or ten handkerchiefs in a day: he had, at the same time a defluxion in his ears and throat, which was very troublesome to him. And afterwards preparing himself, by purges, to drink the waters of Spa, he was seized with a looseness, from which he suffered violent pains for two days, and which left a weakness upon him for a con-

a conſiderable time afterwards. This was a diſorder that prevailed not only over all that diſtrict, from whence his majeſty writ to me, that he had with him the good man Villeroi, and above a hundred gentlemen of his court, who were afflicted with it, but likewiſe in Paris, and all the neighbouring parts. 1608.

Almost all the children of his majeſty were ſick during the month of May. In his letter to me, in which he ſent me an account of it, his paternal tenderneſs made him enter into the ſmalleſt circumſtances relating to the ſtate of their health, none of which, indeed, were indifferent to me. In his letter he ſent me from Fontainebleau, dated May the 16th, he ſays, "I am in great affliction, having all my children ill "here: my daughter de Verneuil has got the meaſles; my ſon, the "Dauphin, vomited twice yeſterday; he has a ſlight fever, attended "with a drowſineſs, and a ſore throat: from theſe ſymptoms, the phy-"ſicians think he likewiſe will have the meaſles. Laſt night, my "daughter began to have a little fever: my ſon d'Orleans has a conti-"nued one; but it is more violent one day than another". This prince's illneſs was moſt dangerous, and laſted longer than any of the other. "Judge, continued he, whether, with all this, I muſt not ſuffer great "uneaſineſs. I will every day give you an account of my childrens "health." Happily they all recovered. "Whatever it ſhall pleaſe God to "do with them," ſaid this prince to me, "I will ſubmit patiently to his "will: all the diſpenſations of his providence are good." He enquired with his uſual goodneſs, how my ſon did, who, he had been told, had the ſmall-pox. He choſe Noiſy for the place of his childrens reſidence during the ſummer, and would not ſuffer them to be removed to St. Germain till November, at which time he ſent me orders, as uſual, to have them carried thither, with madame de Monglat, in the coaches and litters of the queen and queen Margaret; ordering me to tell madame de Verneuil to ſend hers thither likewiſe, the ſmall-pox then raging at Paris.

The ſon of this lady, who was called the marquis de Verneuil *,

* Henry de Bourbon, marquis, or, according to others, duke of Verneuil, afterwards biſhop of Metz. If Paul V. ſhewed himſelf ſo difficult on account of the biſhopric of Metz, Innocent X. ſhewed himſelf much more ſo: for he poſitively refuſed to give the purple to this prince. He enjoy'd more than four hundred thouſand livres a year in benefices, when he gave them all up, in 1668, to marry Charlotte Seguier, widow of Maximilian Francis, third duke of Sully. He died in 1682.

1608. was, by the king his father, deſigned for the church; and the biſhopric of Metz becoming vacant, he had ſome thoughts of giving it him; but the procuring this prince to be nominated, the illegitimacy of his birth, and his youth, for he was yet but a child, were three obſtacles to his advancement to this ſee. It was in the power of the chapter of Metz to remove the firſt, by admitting the young prince as a candidate; or, if that was too difficult to be granted, to appoint the cardinal of Guiſe either to be biſhop or adminiſtrator, becauſe, from his hands, it might afterwards eaſily paſs into thoſe of the young De Verneuil. This chapter having both a right to chuſe themſelves a biſhop, in caſe of a vacancy, by reſignation, or death, and of giving the adminiſtration of the revenues of the biſhopric to any perſon they pleaſed, there was no neceſſity for uſing many perſuaſions with them; for, as ſoon as they perceived that it would pleaſe the king to have his ſon appointed, he was admitted and choſen unanimouſly.

But it was the pope alone who could grant the neceſſary diſpenſation on the other two articles, the birth and age of the young prince. His majeſty, to prevail upon him to grant this favour, ſent the duke of Nevers to Rome *. Valerio, the courier from Rome, was received in a moſt obliging manner at Paris, and retained there till the end of March. The marchioneſs of Verneuil neglected nothing to ſecure the ſucceſs of this affair. However, all that could be obtained from the pope, was a diſpenſation for the birth. He refuſed the ſecond requeſt, as being abſolutely contrary to the canons and diſcipline of the church; but, by the force of entreaties and ſolicitations, they drew from him, at length, that kind of approbation, which, in the Roman ſtyle, is called expectative, and that the young prince might bear, at preſent, the title of biſhop of Metz. Valerio brought the news to Fontainebleau the latter end of April, and, by the king's command, I acquainted Madame de Verneuil with it immediately.

The little complaiſance which Paul V. on this occaſion, ſhewed his majeſty, was well repaid by him, when at that pontiff's requeſt, the cardinals and prelates of France renewed their ſolicitations to Henry, that the decrees of the council of Trent might be publiſhed in the kingdom; the king, without ſuffering himſelf to be moved by their repeated attempts on this head, replied, that ſince they could not get

* The Memoirs of thoſe times takes notice of the magnificent entry and reception of the duke at Rome.

this

this council approved by Francis I. Henry II. and Charles IX. although they had not the ſame obligations to the proteſtants as he had, nor had granted them ſuch favourable edicts as he had done, they muſt not expect that he would ever give his conſent to it. He ſhewed them the miſchief ſuch a grant was capable of doing in the kingdom, and declared, that he had no inclination to eſtabliſh the inquiſition in France; and that he thought it very ſurpriſing, for he was aware of that objection, that ſuch a ſtrange clauſe ſhould be made one of the conditions of his abſolution. All therefore that they could obtain from his majeſty was, that the maſs ſhould be permitted in Bearn *. 1608.

This year the Roman college loſt the cardinals de Lorrain and Baronius. The duke of Florence, and the famous Scaliger died alſo about the ſame time: and, in France, the chancellor de Bellievre, father Ange de Joyeuſe, and Miron †.

* The exerciſe of the catholic religion had been re-eſtabliſhed at Bearn, ever ſince the time of the edict of Nantes. There is therefore a miſtake here in theſe Memoirs; and, inſtead of the *maſs*, it ſhould be read the *jeſuits*; thoſe fathers being eſtabliſhed there this year, by the king's edict of the 16th of February. They were obliged for this to the ſolicitations of the biſhop of Oleron. Nic. Rigault, Book i. Merc. Fr. 1608, &c.

† Francis Miron maſter of requeſts, ſuperintendant of the government of the iſle of France, preſident of the great council, provoſt of Paris, and lieutenant-civil within the provoſtſhip thereof, &c. died in the month of June, this year, extremely regretted on account of his probity, and other good qualities. His party eſteemed him ſo much for the ſteadineſs with which he had oppoſed the ſuperintendant on occaſion of the order of council which had been made the year before for the ſuppreſſion of the annuities of the Hotel de Ville, and of the bold remonſtrances he made to the king on that behalf, that they got together in a body, and came, in a ſeditious manner to defend his houſe againſt the threatenings of the council. Perefixe, from whom I have this fact, agrees, that the enquiry into the caſe of the annuitants was in itſelf moſt juſt; and yet blames the authors of it: "Becauſe, ſays he, the greateſt part of "thoſe annuities having paſſed through "ſeveral hands, or been divided, many "families muſt be put to great trouble by "it. Miron, adds he, earneſtly requeſted "the citizens to retire, and not to make "him criminal; aſſuring them they had "nothing to fear: that they had to do "with a king as great as wiſe, as gentle "as equitable; and who would not ſuffer "himſelf to be influenced by the advice of "evil counſellors."

For my part, I do not ſo much admire this gentleman, who, notwithſtanding his probity, ſuffered himſelf to be ſo far tranſported with paſſion, as to make ſome odious compariſons: "Not indeed, ſays the "ſame writer, with the king's perſon, "but with ſome of his council;" as I do the king himſelf, who reſiſting the perſuaſion of thoſe who would have prevailed on him to ſeize him by force, and ſeverely to puniſh his boldneſs, "graciouſly re-"ceived, continues M. de Perefixe, the

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1608. Some new embelliſhments were made at Fontainebleau and Monceaux. The bridge Marchand * was built at Paris, in the place of that called the bridge Aux-Meûniers. I gave the king a deſign for La-Place Dauphin, by which, leaving the fund to be managed by the undertaker for his own advantage, it might be finiſhed in three years. It was offered to the firſt preſident, and to the parliament. I alſo drew a plan for the bridge of Rouen; which my ſon preſented to his majeſty, for I was then upon the ſpot. Henry thought nothing could be better contrived for the conveniency of the ground. The bridge at Mante was finiſhed this year. In Bourbonnois I depoſited ſeveral pieces of artillery, which procured me the thanks of that province by St. Géran.

These works of neceſſity, or of public utility, might have been carried much farther, if the king had been willing to follow the advice I gave him, to ſacrifice ſome of his private expences to ſuch laudable undertakings. The money he loſt at play only, would have anſwered

" excuſes and moſt humble ſubmiſſions of " Miron; and beſides, forbid the proſe- " cution of the enquiry into the annuities, " which had made ſo much noiſe." I am ſurpriſed no notice is taken of any part of this tranſaction in theſe Memoirs.

But another action which does real honour to M. de Sully (taken out of the Memoires pour l'Hiſt. de Fr.) was, his ſoliciting Hen. IV. on behalf of the preſident Miron, brother of the deceaſed, who had reſigned the office of lieutenant-civil to him, and afterwards of his ſon. The king ſaying to him, " I am ſurpriſed " you ſhould deſire my favour for perſons " whom you formerly ſo much hated. " And, Sire, replied Sully, I am more ſur- " priſed to find you hate people you for- " merly ſo much loved, and who love you, " and have done you good ſervice." The queen, at the recommendation of Conchini, procured this office for Nicholas Le-Geai, the king's attorney of the Châtelet.

* " So called after the name of Charles " Le-Marchand, captain of the arquebu- " ſiers and archers of Paris, who under- " took, with the king's permiſſion, to " build the ſaid bridge at his own coſts and " expences, on certain conditions, which " were granted to him, and amongſt others " that it ſhould bear his name." Journal " de L'Etoile, ibid.

This bridge, which formerly was called Pont-aux-Colombes, (the Pigeon-bridge) becauſe pigeons were ſold on it, had afterwards the name of Pont-aux-Meûniers, (the Millers-bridge) becauſe there was a mill under every arch. It had been broke down ever ſince the year 1596, by a flood, on the 22d of December, between five and ſix o'clock in the evening, cruſhing under its ruins upwards of five hundred perſons, who were for the moſt part, as it was ſaid, of the number of thoſe who had enriched themſelves at the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew; and it had, ever ſince, continued unrepaired. It was begun this year, and finiſhed the next. It took fire twelve years after, being of wood, and was burnt down, together with another bridge, called Pont-au-Change, which was rebuilt with ſtone in 1639: and the two bridges were united in one, which, at preſent, is called Pont-au-Change. See the authors of the Antiquities and Deſcriptions of Paris.

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thoſe purpoſes. I was ordered to pay Edward Fernandez*, a Portugueſe, at one time thirty-four thouſand piſtoles which he had loſt to him. This order is dated Auguſt 27. He often ſent me others for two or three thouſand piſtoles †, and many more for ſums leſs conſiderable. However it muſt be confeſſed, that this paſſion for play never hindered him from agreeing to every propoſal in which the public good was concerned. 1608.

A DREADFUL devaſtation ‡ was made by the Loire, in the month of October. In my journey from d'Olivet to Orleans, I expected to

*This Edward Fernandez is taken notice of in the Memoirs of Baſſompierre, as being a rich Portugueſe banker, who lent money to the courtiers for play, on pledges, and at large intereſt.

† "I do not know, ſays M. de Peréfixe, what anſwer to make to thoſe who "charge him with being fonder of cards "and dice, than was becoming a great "king; and that beſides he played ill, be-"ing eager to win, timorous when large "ſums were depending, and out of temper "when he loſt." It requires no anſwer, I ſhould tell this writer; for it muſt be owned, that it is a blot in the life of this great prince. How can one juſtify a paſſion for play, when puſhed to the degree it was by Henry IV? What can be more pernicious in the maſter of a whole nation? What example can be worſe? What can have a ſtronger tendency to the ſubverſion of order, and the corruption of manners?

We find, on this ſubject, in the Memoirs for the Hiſtory of France, a ſtory as pleaſant as it is pleaſantly told. "M. "de Crequy, afterwards duke of Leſ-"diguieres and marſhal of France, loſt ſo "much money, that one day, coming "from the king's, in a manner out of his "ſenſes, he met M. de Guiſe, who was "going to the caſtle, to whom he ſaid: "Friend, friend, where are the guards "placed to day? on which M. de Guiſe, "ſtepping back two or three paces, Ex-"cuſe me, Sir, ſays he, I am not of this "country; and immediately went to the "king, who laughed heartily at the ſtory."

The marſhal de Baſſompierre ſays, that Pimentel, the foreigner mentioned in the beginning of this book, "won upwards "of two hundred thouſand crowns, "which he carried off; and came back to "France the following year, where he "made another good harveſt." It is reported that the ſtratagem he made uſe of to win ſo much, was to get into his hands all the dice which were in the ſhops at Paris, and ſubſtituting falſe dice, which he had got made, in the place of them. But what ſome people have ſaid, that Henry IV. was informed of the cheat, and countenanced it, with deſign to impoveriſh his courtiers, and thereby to make them more ſubmiſſive to him, ought to be looked upon as a mere ſtroke of ſatire. The duke of Epernon loſt conſiderable ſums, and all his jewels. The duke of Biron alſo loſt, in one year, more than five hundred thouſand crowns.

‡ This devaſtation laſted twenty-four hours, and came in an inſtant. Had not the banks broke down, the city of Tours muſt have been laid under water, and Blois ran a great riſque. M. de Sully, who was then at Sully, with great difficulty ſaved himſelf: both he and his whole duchy were in great danger. Mem. Hiſt. de Fr. ib.

According to Le Mercure Francois, this misfortune happened twice, in this year, in the Loire; once toward the end of winter, after a froſt; the ſecond time, in the beginning of ſummer, by the ſudden melting of the ſnow on the mountains of Velai and Auvergne: it places none of thoſe

have

1608. have been involved in it. This whole paſſage was one continued ſea, in which the boats ſwam over the tops of the trees and houſes the water had yet left ſtanding. However, no accident happened to myſelf; but the boat, which carried me, ſtuck in its return, and fell in two pieces, but fortunately all the paſſengers ſaved themſelves by ſwimming. The deſolation was extreme, and the damage infinite. In the petitions of the injured towns and villages, not only a total diſcharge of the taille was demanded, but likewiſe a ſpeedy and effectual ſuccour, at leaſt for their moſt urgent neceſſities, without which moſt part of the lands muſt remain untilled, and the houſes be deſerted. "God," ſaid Henry, in his anſwer to a letter I writ to him upon this terrible accident, "has given me ſubjects, that I may preſerve "them as my children. Let them meet with tenderneſs and charity "from my council. Alms are always highly acceptable to God; and "in caſes of public miſery more eſpecially ſo. It would lie heavy on "my conſcience, if I neglected to do every thing I can for their "relief." I ſeconded with all my power, the king's pious intentions.

In the ſame letter I obtained three little gratuities for different perſons: the profits of a mill, at the gates of Paris, for one; the remainder of ſome trees, that had been cut down, for another; and the timber which had ſerved to repair the ſtone bridge at Mante, for the third.

The merit and learning of Meſſieurs Fenouillet and D'Abeins, ſo well known throughout the whole kingdom, encouraged me to requeſt, for the firſt, the reverſion of the biſhopric of Poitiers; and, for the ſecond, the firſt biſhopric which ſhould become vacant, both which were promiſed me. I ſet out immediately after for Sully; but I had ſcarce left his majeſty, when news was brought him of the death of

floods in the month of October, in which he is miſtaken. "The loſs, ſays he, of "men, women, children, cattle, caſtles, "mills, houſes, and all ſorts of goods, "was inеſtimable. There was not a "bridge on this river, which has a courſe "of more than five hundred leagues, "which had not ſome of its arches broke "down. The force of the water made "breaches in all the banks. The low "grounds were covered with it quite to "the ſkirts of the hills; the lands which "are very fruitful there, was for a long "time overflowed, there being no vent "for the water to run off; and became "quite barren, being covered with ſand "and ſtones, which the water had brought "from Auvergne."

This year was called the year of the hard winter, that ſeaſon being unuſually ſevere. "Henry IV. ſaid his beard froze "in bed with the queen by him." He had ſome frozen bread given him on the 23d of January, which he would not ſuffer to be thawed. Matt. Vol. II. Book iii. p. 771.

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the bishop of Montpelier, which he instantly sent to inform me of. I was of opinion, that I should make some alteration in the favour I had obtained of the king. I therefore writ to him, that Montpelier being full of protestants, it seemed to me to require, that a man as eloquent as the abbe Fenouillet should be made bishop of it; and that the mild and moderate disposition of the abbe d'Abiens rendered him absolutely fit for the bishopric of Poitiers, that province having many hot and violent spirits in it that required tempering. Henry read my letter to the courtiers about him, and, smiling, asked them whether the catholics could have made a better disposition *. Fervaque was so dangerously ill, that I advised his majesty to think of disposing of the very considerable posts he held in Normandy. But he soon destroyed our opinion of his danger, by writing, some days afterwards, that, if a commission was sent him to hold the states of that province, he found himself able to preside at the assembly. 1608.

The treaty of 1564, between France and Lorrain, daily suffered some new difficulties relating to the limits of the country of Messin, which determined the king to send commissioners upon the spot. These were chosen by the chancellor and I, out of the council and elsewhere. Another work no less useful, and much more considerable, was to order report to be given in, upon exact views, of all the encroachments made by our neighbours in different parts of the frontiers, and especially upon the confines of Champagne, with Franche Comté, and Lorrain. Chatillon, the engineer, to whom I committed this task, executed it with the utmost exactness. He made it clear, that the king of Spain, and the duke of Lorrain, had unjustly appropriated to themselves a great number of fiefs, and even whole villages, as the village of Pierre-court, the town of Passeran, the lordship of Commercy, and many others, which it would be too tedious to enumerate here †.

* Péréfixe relates this fact something differently. "The bishopric of Poitiers "being become vacant, Rosny earnestly "recommended one Fenouillet to him, "who was esteemed a man of learning, "and a good preacher. The king notwithstanding this recommendation, gave "it to the abbot of La-Rocheposai, who "also possessed many good qualities; and "besides was the son of a father who had "served equally well with his sword in "the wars, and with his genius in embassies. Some time after the bishopric "of Montpelier became vacant, on which "the king, of his own motion, sent for "Fenouillet, and gave it to him; but on "condition, that he should take it as an "obligation to him alone. Ibid. p. 312.

† They may be seen in the old Memoirs of Sully, Vol. v. p. 222.

1608.

This work was but a ſmall part of what, by his majeſty's orders, I had undertaken. The moſt exact plans of all the coaſts and frontiers of France were to be drawn. The duke of Maïenne and the inhabitants of Antibes having put to ſale the lands they had in the neighbourhood of that city, the king was deſirous of purchaſing them, which, when known, was ſufficient to make them ſet ſuch a price upon thoſe lands as diſguſted his majeſty, who ordered them to be told, that they might ſell their land to whomſoever they pleaſed, but that he would put a governor into Antibes, who might probably make them repent of their injuſtice to himſelf.

Let us now come to the finances. There was a new regulation made, directed to the treaſurers of the exchequer, of the private expences, of the poſts, of the Swiſs League, of the ordnance, of the extraordinary of the wars, and the extraordinary on this ſide the mountains, and the reſt, which preſcribed them ſtill a more exact method for giving in their accounts, and placed them in the loweſt dependence on their ſuperintendant, without a precept from whom they had ſcarce the power of doing any thing. This regulation * was extended, likewiſe, even to the regiſters and the ſecretary of the council. I put in the ſame ſubjection thoſe who acted under me in every other buſineſs: I obliged Lichani, under whoſe direction the ſtreets of Paris were paving, to come every Wedneſday and Saturday noon, to give me an account of the payment and employment of his workmen.

By a circular letter ſent to all the managers of the finances, I forbid them to place any more, in their accounts, ſuch articles as had been once rejected, or reduced by the council, leaving no means to recover them but that of petition; and that they might not plead want of rules, I ſent them forms drawn up with clearneſs and exactneſs. They were obliged even to quote the date, and the ſignatures of the patents and edicts of council that were there mentioned. The regulation of the fees of the chamber of accounts, and another, concerning the money embezzled by the treaſurers of France, and the receivers-general, was joined by the former. This new ſcheme brought the king, at preſent, a hundred thouſand crowns profit, which would be doubled, when it came to be perfectly obſerved. The chamber of accounts did not part with its fees but with a great deal of trouble, not even when

* See this regulation in the old Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 194.

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it was made appear upon how falſe a ſuppoſition they had been eſta- 1608.
bliſhed. I was obliged even to get a formal order, from his majeſty, to obtain from them a delivery of the regiſters, for which I had occaſion. I had a great deal of trouble with the procurer-general, and the preſidents of that chamber, to make them verify an edict with reſpect to thoſe who paid their rents, and for the extinction of forty-eight thouſand livres of rents ſettled by compoſition.

I declared to the ſovereign courts, and the office of finances of Languedoc, the reſolution of the king upon ſeveral queſtions which they had ſent to me, reſpecting rights of preſence, feudal or ſeigneurial rights, ſupplement of the crown-lands, new purchaſes, the crown-lands of Navarre, rights of "traite foraine et domaniale," payments upon cloths, and particularly the taille réelle, upon which the council determined, with one voice, that the prince, the officers of the crown, and the king himſelf, being obliged to pay it, for the lands which they poſſeſſed in that province, it muſt be paid by every one elſe, both cities and communities. I ordered Mauſſac to carry letters, concerning all this, to the parliament of Toulouſe, the treaſurers of France, and the farmers of the gabelles. I directed the edict for the repurchaſe of the regiſters to M. de Verdun, firſt preſident of that parliament, that he might ſee it regiſtered, which he did without any difficulty or ſubterfuge. He wrote, at the ſame time, that he had proceeded to make a compenſation to the regiſters of the ſeveral courts; and aſſured me of the exact ſubmiſſion of the parliament to the king's will. To this he added ſome perſonal acknowledgments, and thanked me, among other things, for having ſent ſuch a commiſſioner as Colange, a man of ſoft addreſs, and inſinuating behaviour.

I do my beſt to ſuppreſs all particularities, which muſt naturally be tedious; and ſhall therefore ſay nothing of the letters which I wrote to the procurer-general of Dauphiné, to the ſieur Marion, and to the treaſurers of Burgundy upon the repurchaſe of the domaine, upon the late regulations, and upon every other ſubject *.

When I ſaw the year drawing to an end, I wrote to the king at Fontainebleau, that his preſence was neceſſary for a general view of the finances: that I wanted his orders for a thouſand things, ſuch as

* All the letters in the old Memoirs of Sully, of this year 1608, may be conſulted on this ſubject. Vol. III.

1608. his garrisons, his troops, the gallies, the officers of the dauphin's household, and of the children of France; that, by his absence, many other affairs were left unsettled, which, by those who had them in charge, were considered as merely of my invention, and indifferent to him. I shall honestly confess, that I have always endeavoured to join his majesty with his ministers in the management of business, because, in reality, the best regulations come to nothing, unless it plainly appear that neglect will be punished by the displeasure of the prince.

The brevet of the taille had never been made in a manner so solemn as it was now for the year 1609. His majesty came on the 16th of August, and took his seat in the council, attended by several princes, dukes, peers, and officers of the crown, and an edict of the council was passed in his presence, by which it is said, that the king having examined the calculations of receipts, and expences for the present year, and heard the reports of his council, and the superintendant of his finances, was very desirous to shew his regard to the remonstrances which they had made him, by discharging his people from part of the taille; but that the debts contracted by his predecessors, and the disorder in which he found the finances, obliged him to encrease it instead of diminishing: but that, however, he was contented to impose, for the next year, only the same sum as for the year past, with the augmentation but of twenty thousand seven hundred and fifty livres, ten sols, and seven deniers, which were to arise by an appropriation of the same sum, which the commissioners had always charged upon the parishes for some petty expences of each province, which charge was from henceforth suppressed.

I shall give an account, with some satisfaction, of a memorial, which I presented to the king, concerning the taille, because, by the particularities and reflections contained in it, it may pass for an epitome of the history of the taille, in France.

It is certain that no state, whatsoever, subject to the government of many, or of one, can be without paying taxes: for tho' we should suppose it content with the power which it now has, without endeavouring after more, it is however impossible, but that, from time to time, it must have outrages to revenge, and rebels to repress. Innumerable necessities, rising within itself, must be indispensably supplied by regular expences, which however must be sometimes greater, sometimes

times leſs. Theſe expences, as well ordinary as extraordinary, were, in this kingdom, for a long time, raiſed upon the lands belonging to the king, or to the crown *, by taxes, under the name of voluntary aſſiſtance, laid and allotted by a general determination of all the orders of the kingdom, which are called the ſtates. They were, however, almoſt nothing to the immenſe ſums to which we have ſeen them riſe ſince, becauſe, in thoſe times, they confined themſelves to things barely neceſſary as well in as out of the kingdom. It is a remark, which I know not whether any man has made, that of all our kings of the third race, down to Charles VIII. not one appears to have engaged in diſtant conqueſts, or even to have made a formal declaration of war, againſt any neighbouring prince †. With this ſpirit of moderation and frugality they never 1608.

* M. de Sully has ſo often and ſo ſtrongly declared himſelf againſt the abuſes of popular ſtates and aſſemblies, that it is not likely he ſhould here mean to authoriſe them: but he ſometimes deceives himſelf, and is hurried too far by his notions of œconomy and ſeverity. Whatever appears in this place in oppoſition to ſovereign authority, ſprings from this ſource.

Men, ſeparately conſidered, are ſome good, ſome bad: therefore, a ſtate governed by one man, will ſometimes be well ruled, ſometimes ill. Men conſidered in that collective ſtate, which is called the people, have never been, are not, nor ever will be any thing but a multitude, whoſe underſtandings and manners of thinking are confined, prejudiced, weak, paſſionate, fearful, and daring, by turns, without cauſe; as defective in experience as in foreſight, and puſhed on, by inſtinct, towards the only real good. Conſequently a ſtate governed by the multitude muſt be bad, and always ill governed. This proof is clear from its ſimplicity, and may be called a demonſtration, as well againſt republics, as every other form of government, which grants more or leſs power to the people. The principle that makes the chief riches of a king to conſiſt in his demeſnes, has no better foundation. See L'Eſſai Politique ſur le Commerce.

† This obſervation is falſe. Before Charles VIII. France was engaged in wars with Spain, Flanders, and England; with its neighbours as well as with more diſtant ſtates, offenſively as well as defenſively. What a period of time is here compared with, and preferred to the preſent? The laſt reigns of the ſecond race of our kings, and the firſt of the third: could a more unfortunate one, for this kingdom, have been pitched on? If there were then fewer foreign wars, continual civil ones, the greateſt of all calamities, were the unfortunate reaſon of it. Our kings had ſcarce any other employment, than to make uſeleſs attempts to deliver the nation from a thouſand domeſtic tyrants. France was defenceleſs againſt the Barbarians, and againſt its neighbours, of whom ſucceſſively ſhe became the ſport.

This time, it may be ſaid, was at leaſt happy for the nobility; but even that I cannot agree to. They ſhone only with falſe luſtre, ſince the public and general evils muſt alſo neceſſarily bring on their particular ruin. Can a man be deemed leſs unfortunate becauſe he himſelf is the cauſe of his misfortunes? if a ſtate of peace and quietneſs, notwithſtanding what ambition may alledge to the contrary, be the only happy one, the cardinal of Richlieu has done more for the real good of the French nobility than they are ſenſible of.

In ſhort, what has been doing in France for near three hundred years paſt, but taking pains to heal the wounds given to her power at the time here extolled for its happineſs and wiſdom? The duke of Sully,

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1608. found themſelves in want; but were able to diſcharge all expences without mortgaging, or alienating their lands; and were therefore, in reality, notwithſtanding that appearance of poverty, much richer * than their ſucceſſors in the midſt of all their treaſures, which they have obtained by boundleſs power, and abſolute authority. This is no paradox. The prince who can do much, he thinks, he can do every thing †,

in this place, ſeems to give a little into that popular prejudice, which cauſes admiration of whatever bears the mark of antiquity. One thing, nevertheleſs, may ſerve to excuſe him. He had been a witneſs of part of the miſchiefs which the religious wars had occaſioned in the laſt age, and which, to ſay the truth, can be equalled by inſtances very few, if any, to be found in our hiſtory: he did not think himſelf deceived when he placed thoſe calamities to the account of the government; but is it not more probable that they were ſo great, only becauſe monarchy was not yet fully eſtabliſhed among us? A king, poſſeſſed of the power our kings at this day have happily acquired, had found means to prevent them, ſince he would have known how to overawe the great men, to whom alone they ought to be imputed.

If it were neceſſary, in order to place this truth in its ſtrongeſt light, to add to it an example to ſhew the juſtneſs of this aſſertion, we have not, within the laſt fifty years, wanted many occaſions for the production of civil troubles, as well as religious diſſentions. We could even quote a minority, and that in a time full of difficulties: yet what miſchief has happened from thence?

But what ought to ſurpriſe us moſt, is, that there ſhould be people, even at this time of day, who, in ſpite of experience, and contrary to the moſt convincing evidence, undertake, by their reaſonings, to reſtore opinions ſo juſtly exploded.

* This is another error. To ſpeak juſtly, one cannot ſay the king is either rich or poor. Of all the perſons who may be ſaid to belong to the public, the king is moſt properly ſo. In this light, he poſſeſſes nothing but what, at the ſame time, appertains to the whole ſtate. All thoſe expences, which are deemed royal, ought alſo to be called civil, ſince they are all made in the name, for the benefit, and on behalf of the whole ſtate. This is obvious in what is ſpent in the ſupport of armies, navies, fortifications, &c. and no leſs ſo, as to all works of public utility and convenience; or ſimply of grandeur and magnificence: and if a ſerious attention be given to it, it will appear that the ſame may be ſaid even of thoſe expences which bear relation to the perſon of the king alone; as his table, apparel, houſes, diverſions, &c. On all theſe occaſions he is not leſs in the ſervice of the public, than whilſt he is at the head of his armies.

The ill uſe ſome ſovereigns make of the public treaſures, deſtroys not the truth of this principle: beſides it is for the advantage of the whole nation, that the quantity of the public money to be applied, and the manner of its application, ſhould be under the direction of one perſon only. Should any one expect, that the people would give attention enough to the public good, to contribute voluntarily to what may be found to be neceſſary for the uſe, convenience, and glory of the nation; to the ſecret expences policy requires, to thoſe which ſecure the recompence of bravery and merit, or the improvement of arts and ſciences, he muſt be unacquainted with what they are capable of. The republican conſtitution can be adapted to the happineſs of ſmall ſtates only.

† This is the ſtrongeſt objection that can be, and which, in fact, is conſtantly made againſt monarchy. Muſt one man be the maſter of all? Suppoſe that one to be ambitious, prodigal, or cruel, muſt not the whole people be the victims of ambition, prodigality, and cruelty? I deny not the poſſibility of the fact: there are examples of it. And in admitting this, I agree

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and undertakes every thing without perceiving a capital error in the computation of his ſtrength, the impoveriſhment and ruin of his ſubjects, which is always aggravated as his deſires encreaſe, and at laſt reduces him to total weakneſs. 1608.

that this is the greateſt, but at the ſame time, in one ſenſe, the only inconvenience of this form of government.

But ſince perfect happineſs falls not to the ſhare of man, and ſince human wiſdom, exerted to the utmoſt pitch, can only promiſe itſelf to diminiſh the meaſure of human evils, the only queſtion is, whether monarchical power is not more conducive to this end, than any other form of government? This muſt become apparent, I am perſuaded, on a ſlight reflection.

Whatever exceſſes a king may run into he will ſtill, for his own intereſt, to a certain degree, be careful of the lives and properties of his ſubjects. Beſides, only a moderate ſhare of virtue in a monarch is ſufficient to inſure the good of his people, tho' it may not produce the greateſt happineſs they may be capable of enjoying: and, on the contrary, all the vices a prince may be liable to, are not in every caſe deſtructive of the happineſs of thoſe under his command: ſome even promote it, whilſt others only ſuſpend it. In fine, his incapacity may be ſupplied by the choice of able miniſters. From theſe cauſes, it happens that under a kingly government, no evil is of long continuance, or abſolutely irremediable. Before this can be the caſe, ignorance and preſumption muſt concur with an aſſemblage of all the vices.

Theſe principles lead us to this concluſion: that there is only one, but that an infallible method, to prevent all the evils which have been produced in France by the nobles, in England by the people, in the north by the clergy, in the eaſt by the monks, in many ancient monarchies by the ſoldiers, and in an infinite number of ſtates by the diverſity of religions; and that is, to encreaſe the royal authority to a degree ſufficient, not only to counterballance thoſe ſeveral authorities, but to overweigh them. The name of a king, provided it is not reduced to a mere name, will be a rock, againſt which, whatever waves may at any time flow from parliaments, univerſities, or any other bodies of people, may fately daſh and break themſelves.

The reaſon of this is plain. All other power, beſides this, is a power compounded of many parts, which, through the openings in them, admit all the members of the body-politic to enter into a ſhare of the ſupreme authority; that is to ſay, into a ſhare of what cannot be divided. Royalty alone keeps every thing in order; makes head againſt, and oppoſes every thing, being ſuperior to, and blunting every danger. It will always have this effect when it appears not to be doubtful. In the ſtate, as in the church, there muſt be a viſible authority, whoſe brightneſs may dazzle the eyes of thoſe who would move out of their proper ſpheres. For it is a truth, which ſeems to me not to be ſufficiently attended to, that all the miſchiefs, all the revolutions, which afflict or deſtroy ſtates, ſpring, without exception, from the want of ſubordination. It may conſequently be ſet down as a fundamental principle of government, that the preference ſhould be given, above all other means, to thoſe which are moſt proper to preſerve this ſubordination; an advantage which undeniably reſults from royalty.

In order to prove, in oppoſition to the principles eſtabliſhed, in this part of theſe Memoirs, for the government of this kingdom, that all the calamities, wherewith it was afflicted during the ſecond and third race of its kings, had their origin from the changes made in its original conſtitution, in diminution of the perogatives and authority of the monarch, the moſt effectual method will be to refer to the Hiſtoire critique de l'Etabliſſement de la Monarchie Françoiſe dans les Gaules, which has been before cited by me. The author therein

I SAY

160. I SAY nothing of the troubles arising from endeavours to satiate an avarice in itself insatiable. The taille, which of all arbitrary imposts is indisputably the most pernicious as the most unjust, as under that name are comprehended all capitations or assessments raised arbitrarily upon particular persons, furnishes us with many striking examples of its bad consequences. How many times has it brought the royal authority into danger? Its first consequence was to turn Childeric, the father of Clovis, out of his throne; and some time afterwards it cost Chilperic his life: for he was assassinated by Bodillon, a French gentleman, in revenge of ignominious treatment, which he received from the prince, for having represented, with a little freedom of speech, the danger of an exorbitant tax, which he was going to establish. Such another tax, under Philip Augustus, produced an insurrection of the nobility, which defeated the design. Others, who have succeeded better in this undertaking, have afterwards felt such violent remorse of conscience, that they have been forced to set themselves at ease by an absolution from the pope. St. Lewis left no injunction so forceable to his son, as that of raising no money upon his subjects against their will, and without their consent. Philip de Valois, who got rid of all such scruples, found the consequences of raising taxes, and saw his chief cities in arms against him. He assisted, before he was king, at an assemblée des Notables, in the reign of Lewis surnamed Hutin, in which it was decreed, that every king should, when he was consecrated, take an oath to lay no new taxes upon his people without the authority of an assembly of the three estates. To this decree John I. and Charles V. submitted, and made modest demands of supplies, which were granted them. A tax * assessed upon particular people, without an assembly of the

demonstrates, that our kings of the first race enjoyed, perhaps, a more absolute authority than the king has at present, in levying taxes, condemning the principal nobility to death, &c. that the dukes and earls, by making themselves proprietors of the lordships and estates whereof they were only governors, insensibly usurped both the prerogative of the king, and the rights of the people: that the people, on many occasions, supported the efforts which the successors of Hugh Capet began to make, to deliver them from the servile subjection they were under to so many tyrants, &c. Vol. III. book vi. chap. 11. 16.

* Most of the examples brought by the author in this place, that is, all those preceding the reign of St. Lewis, are less applicable to the taille, than to any other taxes, equally insupportable to a people fond of liberty, and prejudiced with the opinion, that the strongest mark thereof, is not to make any contributions in obedience to the sovereign, without examining whether his demand of them is just or unjust, and whether they are required for his own benefit, or for the public good. M. de Sully is much to blame, in taking the part of the

states,

ſtates, or conſent of the nation, was looked upon as not the leaſt evil in the reign of Charles VI. a reign ſo full of unfortunate events, that it may be called the grave of the French laws, and the French morals. Under Charles VII. who had the Engliſh to drive out of his country, that neceſſity which leſſened the murmurs of the people, encreaſed the evil. He had the addreſs to change that tribute into a ſtated and ſettled payment; which, from being a perſonal aſſeſſment, had the name of taille. It was however eſtabliſhed, in different provinces, in different forms: in ſome it was called a poll-tax, in others a tax upon eſtates, in others a mixed tax: it was fixed by Charles VII. at one million eight hundred thouſand livres. Let us now ſee what progreſs it had made from reign to reign, down to our time. 1608.

Lewis XI. augmented the taille to four millions ſeven hundred thouſand livres. In the year 1498, at the time of the death of Charles VIII. it appears, that there were paid into the exchequer, when all expences were deducted, four millions four hundred ſixty-one thouſand ſix hundred and nineteen livres; in 1515, at the death of Lewis XII. four millions eight hundred ſixty-five thouſand ſix hundred

people in ſo unreaſonable a ſentiment, after himſelf had laid down the neceſſities of a great ſtate: this may therefore be looked upon as a ſtroke of vain declamation,

This, nevertheleſs, is no reaſon to forbid men of ſenſe from being of his opinion, ſo far as relates to the taille: thoſe who eſtabliſhed this tax, may be ſaid to have laid a greater weight on the people by the form of raiſing it, than by the charge itſelf. From hence I draw new inſtructions, in corroboration of the principles the foregoing remarks have endeavoured to eſtabliſh; for ſhould I be aſked why it is ſo, I would anſwer, becauſe it is a popular eſtabliſhment; not indeed as it is a charge on the people, for they would never have framed ſuch fetters for themſelves: on the contrary, it was in order to ſhake it off, they made ſo many violent efforts; but I call it popular, as to the manner of levying and impoſing it.

If thoſe of our kings who firſt made uſe of it, Charles VII. for example, had been maſter enough of their ſubjects, to be able to ſay, The ſtate is in want of a conſiderable new ſubſidy, pay me the tenth of all your effects; this ſum is wanting; don't you intermeddle, but leave the manner of raiſing it to me: it may reaſonably be ſuppoſed, ſome other means of collecting it would have been made uſe of, than thoſe purſued in raiſing the taille. But it was thought, the leaſt indulgence which could be ſhewn to the people, was to leave them at leaſt a kind of liberty, in the manner of aſſeſſing and raiſing it, &c. Hence it comes, as our author ſays, that in ſome places it was capital, in others real, and in a third place mixed: all the changes which could afterwards be made in a building, ſtanding on ſo weak a foundation, were to prop it up, and to render it more inconvenient.

Let this be an example of what popular wiſdom and management produces: the people, at this time, pay the full price of their miſtake; in all the old impoſitions this ill-timed complaiſance of the ſovereigns, which led them to ſoften, by a multiplicity of regulations, what ought to have been done, if poſſible, by one ſimple method, is perceptible.

1608. and ſeventeen livres. It made at once a prodigious advance under Francis I. who left it at his death raiſed to fourteen millions forty-four thouſand one hundred and fifteen livres. Henry II. left it at no more than twelve millions ninety-eight thouſand five hundred and ſixty-three livres. It continued to ſhrink in the two following reigns, being in the time of Francis II. only eleven millions one hundred and four thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy-one livres; and in that of Charles IX. but eight millions ſix hundred thirty-eight thouſand nine hundred and ninety-eight livres. The reign of Henry III. favoured it much, if we take a view of it, not as it ſtood at the time when he was ſtripped of great part of his kingdom, as about the year of his death, but in 1581 for inſtance, when it brought in thirty-one millions ſix hundred and forty-four thouſand four hundred livres. Henry the Great, inſtead of ſuffering himſelf to be carried away by a bad example, was content, tho' he had immenſe debts to clear, and great charges to ſupport, with receiving only ſixteen millions clear money, half from the tailles, and half from the farms.

If, notwithſtanding all this, Henry found means to put twenty millions into his coffers, as we ſhall find he did, he owed it to a frugality which was not known in thoſe reigns, and which would probably have been looked on as ſcandalous. Foreigners could no longer meddle in the finances with impunity. This year the elector palatine wrote to me from Heidelberg, earneſtly preſſing me to procure him the reimburſement of ſome money, which, he ſaid, he had lent to the king, and for which, in eight years, he had only drawn one ſingle aſſignment. Carl-Paul, a counſellor, and gentleman in ordinary to this elector, was ſent to me with great offers of ſervice from his maſter, to proſecute this affair. The place I held often procured me compliments from foreign princes. The duke of Savoy, when he ſent the ſieur Jacob to his majeſty, to congratulate him on the birth of his third ſon, ſent me, at the ſame time, a very polite and obliging letter.

The ducheſs of Lorrain's ſickneſs brought the duke of Mantua into Lorrain, and from thence into France. This princeſs was ſo ill after her lying-in, that the phyſicians long deſpaired of her life: ſhe had had but one child, which was a daughter, who was extremely well, and the mother was at length cured. Their majeſties appeared to be greatly intereſted in her recovery, and neglected nothing to make the duke of Mantua's ſtay in France agreeable to him: they gave him a great many fine ballets, and ſtill better repaſts, for which the king paid

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a ſevere penance, by the great quantity of medicines he was obliged to take afterwards. The duke of Mantua did not repaſs the Alps till the middle of October, carrying with him a large ſum of money, which he had won from the king at play. There were ſtill four thouſand piſtoles due to him when he went away, which, at parting, he deſired Henry to pay to his commiſſioner. His majeſty ſent me an order for it in a billet, which Edouard brought me. 1608.

The negotiations for a peace, or a long truce, were ſtill continued in the Low Countries at the Hague, the place choſen for the conferences, but in ſuch a manner, that it was long believed the mark, which had been thought ſo near, would be removed for ever; ſuch difficulties aroſe through diſtruſt, enmity, and a diverſity of intereſt. A certain Spaniſh cordelier, who was employed very much in this affair by his catholic majeſty, paſſing through Paris, had the honour to be preſented to the king, whom he endeavoured to perſuade that the peace would be ſoon concluded. Don Pedro* cauſed a report to be ſpread through all Paris, that the couriers, which were to carry the news of it to Spain, would ſpeedily arrive. The king, and all thoſe who were informed of the true ſtate of things, by the diſpatches ſent from Jeannin, and the reſt of his majeſty's agents in the Low Countries, could not give credit to theſe reports; and with reaſon, ſince from that time, till the end of September, and of October, and ſo on all the remaining part of the year, nothing was effected. It is not certain, that the obſtacle proceeded from the Spaniards: it is the ſafeſt way, therefore, to leave this point doubtful. As for the archdukes, they laboured in earneſt for the peace. His moſt chriſtian majeſty, tho' contrary to his own intereſts, gave alſo the moſt pacific counſels: but things were brought to ſuch a point, that this was the only part, Henry thought, he ought to take.

* Don Pedro was ambaſſador from Spain at the court of France; his preſence there was far from being agreeable to Henry IV. ſince he was not unacquainted with that miniſter's cabals, to engage his council in the Spaniſh intereſt. See Vittorio Siri, mem. recond. vol. I. Le Grain, Decade de Henry le Grand, b. x. L'Etoile and other Hiſtorians. Le Grain relates the following repartee from Henry IV. to Don Pedro, who ſaying to him, he ſaw nobody ſo ill lodged at Fontainebleau as God, Henry made anſwer, "We Frenchmen lodge "God in our hearts, not between four "walls like you Spaniards; and I ſhould "have a doubt, if you were even to lodge "him in your hearts, as we do, he would "there be in a lodging of ſtone. But don't "you ſee, ſays he, afterwards, ſmiling, "that my chapel is not yet finiſhed; I "do not intend to leave it in the condition "it now is; there are few gentlemen in "my kingdom, who have not a chapel in "their houſes. I do not deſign mine ſhall "want one."

1608. With respect to the prince of Orange, if he was not the sole enemy to the peace, he was, at least, the most declared one. These are the reasons and pretences made use of by him and his partisans, to prevent its taking place: That whatever desire Spain might appear to have, either for a peace or a long truce, yet she would never agree to it, with the condition of renouncing, formerly and expressly, all sovereignty over the United Provinces; and yet, without this clause, these provinces could have no dependence upon treaties, since otherways the Spaniards would still have a right to secure the harbours, forts, soldiers, sailors; would draw to themselves all the trade, and open, a second time, the way to the tyranny: that during the truce they would find means to lull all the best and wisest of the people into a lethargy, and put the disaffected and mercenary among them into motion; that the catholic party in those provinces, having already a strong inclination for the Spanish dominion, would rise, declare themselves openly, and bring all, or the greatest part of the country into their measures; so that when the truce was expired, Spain would have an opportunity to finish the war at one blow *; that the peace, if the treaty might be called so, had no security in a truce, which the king of Spain would break whenever his designs were ripe for execution. The princess of Orange wrote to me soon after in almost the same terms, except only, that, although she observed to me that the troops, the towns, and even whole provinces were of her son-in-law's opinion, and faithfully devoted to the whole house of Nassau, yet she could not dissemble, that the contrary party was at least as strong as theirs.

Prince Maurice, who thought in the same manner, did not fail to use his endeavours to gain the king: in October he sent Lambert, the son, with a letter to his majesty, in which he told him, he might give absolute credit to whatever he should say to him in his name. Lambert highly extolled his master's design: he endeavoured to persuade the king, that things were brought to such a point, that the marquis Spinosa, the president Richardot, and the Spanish commissioners, had been thanked and dismissed on the first of this month. All this so much the more surprised his majesty's counsellors, who were present at this report of Lambert, as Berny, in the dispatches he had sent before, had acquainted the king, that the equipages of these Spa-

* Spain, in reality, renewed the war against the Flemings more vigorously than ever, in the year 1621, when the truce expired.

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niſh deputies, and themſelves likewiſe, were expected at Bruſſels the 4th of October. They would have perſuaded his majeſty, that now both his friends and his enemies would think themſelves happy, to receive from him whatever conditions he ſhould be pleaſed to impoſe upon them. This was what Villeroi wrote to me when he gave me a full account of this whole affair; ſending me likewiſe to Gergeau, where I then was, a copy of the prince of Orange's letter. But the king was not ſo precipitate: Lambert's diſcourſe appeared to him, from ſeveral circumſtances, very doubtful. He ſaw no letter from the council of the States. That from the prince ſeemed full of reſerve and artifice. Maurice himſelf had hitherto acted in a manner ſo little conformable to his profeſſions, that there was ſufficient reaſon for holding him ſuſpected. When Lambert added, that Zealand would rather come under the dominion of the Engliſh, than conſent to an agreement with Spain; and that the Dutch entreated his majeſty would at leaſt keep himſelf neutral, if he would not aſſiſt his allies as formerly; ſince, if they only remained poſſeſſed of theſe towns, they would ſtill find employment for the Spaniards fifty years longer: Henry, in theſe words, ſaw nothing but an extravagant boaſt full of falſhood, or at leaſt of moſt groſs artifice; which appeared plainer when Lambert advanced a thouſand other things, that, if true, Jeannin could not have been ignorant of, and of which he had not given his majeſty any account. According to Lambert, Barnevelt and Aërſens were diſgraced, and even in danger of being proſecuted; and in ſeveral towns of the States it had been deliberated in their councils, whether they ſhould not take a reſolution to ſubmit themſelves to the French ſovereignty. Strange how all this could be carried on ſo ſecretly, that in Flanders people ſhould be wholly ignorant ſuch deſigns were forming: but indeed the diſcourſe of Lambert did not always agree with the letter he brought from the prince of Orange. 1608.

I am of opinion, that if his majeſty had ſeen probability in any of theſe propoſals, ſuch, for example, as that of receiving the Dutch under his dominion, he would not have needed any ſpur to animate him to the undertaking; for he ſometimes could not hinder himſelf from being a little offended with Jeannin, for not turning his views that way: but at length Henry took a wiſer reſolution, which was quietly to hear and ſee all that paſſed, without appearing either willing to retard, or ſolicitous to accompliſh the peace; and ſuffer them to agree in whatever manner they pleaſed, without interpoſing in the affair. He ordered Jeannin to conduct himſelf by this plan; and willing to have my advice, he

1608. he ſent me an exact account of every thing by Villeroi, and ſent Lambert to me likewiſe. This agent talked to me in the ſame manner as he had done to his majeſty; but I had, in the princeſs of Orange's letter alone, a good preſervative againſt his arts. He could find nothing to anſwer me, although probably he was not well pleaſed with my ſincerity; nor with the epithets of baſe, and ungrateful, which I ſo freely beſtowed on the States.

I answered Villeroi only by letters; and in theſe I did not diſcloſe all my thoughts, but referred him to my return for a fuller explanation. It was to the king alone that I choſe to declare my true ſentiments of all that paſſed in Flanders. Although prince Maurice had not always exactly followed the plan of conduct he had laid down, and had even ſometimes deviated from it plainly enough; yet it was not either ſtrange or ſurpriſing, that he ſhould endeavour to ſupport, even to the laſt extremity, a reſolution in which his honour could not but be deeply intereſted: but as to Henry, it did not become a great captain, and a powerful monarch, to intrude himſelf into affairs in which his interpoſition was not ſought for; his dignity required that he ſhould examine well what was propoſed, and not act precipitately. With reſpect to the States, if it was with their concurrence that Maurice made theſe offers, it was done too late and unſeaſonably: they had committed faults againſt his majeſty, which they ſought to repair, or rather they added to that ingratitude they had ſhewn to the king the ſhameful deſign of making him ſtill their dupe: the offer of Zealand to England was a mere fable, and all the reſt concluſion, deceit and artifice, to which it was not fit his majeſty ſhould anſwer any otherways, than by continuing to interpoſe in the affairs of theſe provinces, juſt as much as was convenient for his intereſt and his glory.

It was partly on this account that Henry ſo earneſtly wiſhed for my return from Gergeau. In Flanders every thing continued in a ſtate of doubt and uncertainty, of which all the advices that came from thence partook. It happened that the original of the inſtructions given by the archdukes to the deputies, when they were ſent to the Hague, fell into the hands of the prince of Orange; either the paper had been forgot by the preſident Richardot *, or was ſtolen from him; or he ſuffered it expreſsly to be ſeen to pleaſe the catholics,

* John Richardot, preſident of the privy council in the Low-Countries, was a good negotiator: he had been concerned in the treaty of Vervins. He died the next year.

to

to whom those instructions were very favourable. Maurice exclaimed loudly against it, and often made use of it to animate his partizans; the conferences often languished, but were not interrupted: war was become impossible, and consequently an agreement was absolutely necessary. This only was past a doubt, that whatever sincerity both parties might seem to profess, yet they sought carefully to prevent a true interpretation of their words, that they might not want a motive for renewing the war as soon as they could do it with any probability of success. If therefore France lost a favourable opportunity for humbling her rival, she had reason to expect that a much better would present itself, provided that, till then, she took care to manage her strength. "I am still of opinion," thus writ his majesty to me, "that in this affair God will strike a blow which men little expect, and which will blast all their designs: thus have I seen it happen during thirty years, and always to my advantage; may it still be so, and I entreat with my whole heart, that my faults and ingratitude may not hinder it." 1608.

By able politicians another observation was made still more important than the preceding; which was, that the power of Spain was now beginning to decline. If they judged thus, it was not surely on account of the respect shewn by the king of Spain and the archdukes for his majesty's agents, particularly Jeannin; the restrictions she kept with regard to the Dutch made it evident, that she still possessed the same arrogance and ambition; and that she either would not confess, or was herself ignorant of, her weakness; but when a state is seen to want strength and good conduct, when fortune and opportunities are let slip, its decline is then no longer on the foot of a mere conjecture, but may be pronounced absolutely certain.

Of this, however, we had other proofs from what passed upon the frontiers of Navarre and Bearn. The Spaniards having renewed their former quarrels concerning the boundaries of these two kingdoms, Henry, who was determined to give up nothing, writ to me to confer with the chancellor about this affair, and to send one of the privy-counsellors to talk of it to the Spanish ambassador, rather to clear himself of the consequences this quarrel might produce, than with any expectation that it would be composed by that method. His majesty, with the same view, writ to La-Force, to whom alone all the authority over that frontier was confided, to support his rights by all the most speedy and efficacious means he could think of; and as it could not be expected that the inhabitants of that country could furnish him with

James Nompar de Caumont, afterwards duke de La-Force.

1608. with great ſupplies, I received orders to reimburſe to him all the expences he had already been at, and to provide him with a ſufficient fund for the future.

However, theſe precautions were all uſeleſs. Upon the firſt complaints made by La-Force to the viceroy of Arragon, he was promiſed a ratification of all that he ſhould demand, and, contrary to the cuſtom of the council of Madrid, without any delay. The kingdoms of Navarre and Arragon were full of diſaffected perſons, who, upon any appearance of a rupture, were ready to join the enemy; and the council of Spain was not ignorant, that many of them had already offered their ſervice to France. La-Force, to whom they applied, gave his majeſty notice of it; and added, that although he was convinced no great dependence could be placed on the reſtleſs and uncertain temper of theſe people, yet an opportunity now offered which could not fail of giving ſucceſs to their deſigns, provided only that it was immediately made uſe of: that the Spaniards, with all their art and ſkill, could not conceal their weak and exhauſted condition, which no one was any longer ignorant of; and that the affairs of the government were in the utmoſt confuſion. La-Force had never before writ either to his majeſty or me in terms like theſe; and he was more likely than any other perſon to know the true ſtate of things, as well with regard to this as to another faction, which gave great apprehenſions to the council of Madrid, tho' it was formed only by the wretched remains of a people almoſt wholly extirpated; I mean the Moors.

To make this underſtood, it is neceſſary I ſhould give a place here to a tranſaction which I could not introduce elſewhere without interrupting the narration. Henry, when only king of Navarre, was ſtrongly perſuaded in his own mind, that he ſhould one day aſſiſt himſelf againſt Spain with theſe domeſtic enemies, leſs conſiderable indeed for their number, than the deep reſentment they were believed to preſerve againſt their oppreſſors. The Moors, on their ſide, learning by public report that the proteſtant party, which they knew to be very powerful in France, and always oppoſite to Spain, had a king of Navarre at their head; that is, a prince from two powerful motives the enemy of that crown, began again to ſollicit the intereſt of all thoſe perſons who could be uſeful to them in procuring his protection; and among others, they applied to Meſſieurs de St. Geniés, and D'Odou, promiſing them to excite an almoſt general inſurrection in Spain, provided they were ſure of being ſupported. All they demanded was a general, and

and ſome good officers, to whom they promiſed an abſolute obedience. 1608.
They offered to furniſh all the money that was neceſſary for this enterpriſe, aſſuring them that they would have reaſon to be ſatisfied, both with the number of their ſoldiers, and their courage and reſolution. An aſylum in France, with the free enjoyment of their effects, and the liberty of their perſons, were all the conditions annexed by them to this treaty. As to religion, they ſeemed diſpoſed to a very eaſy compoſition, ſince they offered to embrace that which was profeſſed in the kingdom; not the Roman catholic religion, for the tyranny of the inquiſition had rendered this ſecond ſervitude more inſupportable than the firſt, but the proteſtant. They found that it would be no difficult matter to accommodate themſelves to a form of worſhip unincumbered with images and ceremonies, and of which one ſole God, equally adored, and invoked by all, was almoſt the only object.

St. Geniés, and D'Odou, did not fail to make a faithful report of all this to the king of Navarre, when he took that journey into Bearn and Foix, which we have already mentioned. Henry ordered them to get exact information from the Moors what forces they could muſter, what arms they had occaſion for, what money they could promiſe to contribute, and by what methods they propoſed to begin an enterpriſe of ſuch conſequence. Theſe two gentlemen employed, at firſt, only one perſon in this negociation, who was an officer, called captain Danguin; but in proportion as their correſpondences increaſed, they employed twelve others; and the ſecret, tho' entruſted to ſo many perſons, was ſo carefully kept, that the Spaniards had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of this conſpiracy, 'till they received notice of it from Nicholas L'Hote, that ſecretary of Villeroi whoſe hiſtory has been already related. They afterwards made a full diſcovery, and the affair appeared to be of ſo much the more importance, as it was proved that this party, at firſt very inconſiderable, was then joined by more than five hundred thouſand perſons. Two things had concurred to make it ſo formidable; firſt, the ſuccours they had the addreſs and leiſure to procure from the Turks, the great enemies of Spain; and, ſecondly, the intereſt that many natural Spaniards took in the affair.

The council of Madrid, upon the firſt notice of this rebellion, having deliberated whether it would not be proper to clear the country of theſe Moors, by obliging them all to repaſs the ſea, communicated this reſolution to the nobility and gentry of the kingdom of Valentia, where it was received ſo ill, that a ſedition was raiſed in ſeveral pro-

1608. vinces, the nobility of which, keeping many of theſe Moors in ſlavery, could not conſent to their baniſhment, without loſing, at the ſame time, one fourth part of their revenues. They therefore took up arms againſt thoſe who came to ſignify to them the new order of the council of Spain. The viceroy thought to have appeaſed this firſt tumult, by ſending the principal officer for the adminiſtration of juſtice to the mutineers, whom the chancery called the regent. This regent was a fearful old man, who, ſeeing himſelf inſtantly ſurrounded with arms and a furious mob, fell dead in the midſt of them.

In ſuch a conjuncture the Spaniſh council could no longer diſſemble their weakneſs. It was indeed but too palpable, by their tamely ſuffering, for a long time, a revolt in the midſt of the kingdom, without uſing any efforts to quell it. The Moors, who had not expected to be ſo cautiouſly dealt with, became more bold. They renewed their ſolicitations to Henry, who could not now, as when he was king of Navarre only, evade their requeſt by alledging that he was too weak, and had too many difficulties to encounter to make any great efforts in their favour. The Moors, determined, at all events, to ſhake off the Spaniſh yoke, entreated him only to receive them into the number of his ſubjects, on whatever conditions he pleaſed: but the ſame conſiderations which hindered Henry from openly eſpouſing the party of the United Provinces, on an occaſion wherein he was more nearly intereſted, forbad him likewiſe from declaring himſelf the deliverer of a people who were more immediately the ſubjects of Spain, at a great diſtance, and who demanded a naval armament, for the centre of the revolt was in Valentia, Murcia, and Granada; without taking in many other reaſons drawn from the character of this people, and without laying any ſtreſs upon the uſual viciſſitudes of war, which diſtance always conceals, or partly diſguiſes. All this conſidered, his majeſty certainly could not be blamed for not anſwering more favourably the deſires of the Mooriſh nation. I leave the reader to judge, if, during this whole time, the council of Madrid, which was well informed of all that was projecting, could be very eaſy. They had ſuffered, for five years, a malady which they had but too great a certainty of, to take deep root. At length they thought proper to make an effort, and reſumed their deſign of ſhipping off all the Moors that were in Spain, a deſign which was now believed more difficult to execute than before, as a report was ſpread, that the Turks were cruiſing near Majorca to prevent the blow. It was therefore neceſſary to fit out a fleet to oppoſe theirs. October came without any thing appearing either on one ſide or the other; and the whole year paſſed,

paſſed, during which no motion was made by the Spaniards, who knew that the Barbarians waited for them with a body of ten thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe, fully determined to defend themſelves bravely. The battle however proved favourable to the Spaniards, and time furniſhed them with the means of totally ridding themſelves of an enemy * who had no longer any reſources. This, however, could not be done without the loſs of five hundred thouſand ſubjects to Spain†; for that was the number of perſons ſhe baniſhed out of her ſtates, after depriving them of all their effects. 1608.

The emperor treated the city of Donavert, in Germany, with equal ſeverity, and with leſs right to do ſo. He ſeized it, although it was one of the imperial cities, deprived it of the greateſt part of its privileges, and its inhabitants of the liberty of conſcience. This violence excited many murmurs there, and was the cauſe of many diſorders.

* The Moors, with one Barbaroſſa at their head, gave battle to the Spaniards, in which they were defeated, and were obliged to leave Spain the year after. See Le Merc. Franc. and other hiſtorians.

† Others make them amount to ſeven or eight hundred thouſand: a wound to Spain which has never yet been healed: but from whence no benefit accrued to us, tho' it was eaſy for us to have had advantage from it: for though we had not given aſſiſtance to thoſe unfortunate people, as cardinal Richelieu afterwards did to the Portugueſe, on a ſimilar occaſion, we might, at leaſt, have given them an aſylum in France, had it been only in the uncultivated parts of Bourdeaux, where they in vain, as it is ſaid, deſired leave to ſettle. This falſe ſtep of the government is judiciouſly pointed out by the author of L'Eſſai politique ſur le Commerce. "To cultivate barren ground," ſays he on this ſubject, "is conquering a "new country without prejudice to any "one." It may be ſaid, that the ſame reaſons which made it expedient to drive the Moors out of Spain, were equally ſtrong againſt their reception in France. But it would have been eaſy to take the advantage of the miſerable condition they were in, to have impoſed on them whatever terms might have been thought expedient.

MEMOIRS

OF

SULLY.

BOOK XXVI.

1609. ON the firſt day of the new year, I went, as uſual, to preſent the king with ſome gold medals, of which the ſubject was, the glory he had acquired in reconciling the Pope and the Venetians, the Spaniards and the Dutch, and ſome other princes of Europe. After a few moments of converſation upon indifferent matters, Henry took me aſide to a window to tell me, that he deſired I would compoſe for him four ſtates of accounts, in the manner of ſeveral others I had already given him: the firſt, of the equivalents gathered in the twelve generalities of the kingdom; the ſecond, of all the claims, and duties, which make part of the royal revenues; the third, of the principal levies of the taille, called the ordinary levies, from the year 1599 to 1609, taking in theſe two laſt years; the fourth, of the levies of the taille, called the great increaſe, or extraordinary increaſe, during the eleven laſt years. I want, ſaid Henry, to ſhew them to ſome perſons who think they have great ſkill in the finances, although they know nothing of the matter; and to others who admire their method, defective as it is.

THERE was no neceſſity for this prince to make any excuſe to me for this demand; the pleaſure it gave me to ſee him enter with me into all

all the particularities of the government, left me no inclination to examine into the motive of this attention. I perceived that he had, for some time, made a ſtudy of my manner of conducting affairs, as well general as particular; and that by aſking me ſometimes for a ſtate, ſometimes for a memorial, one day for ſome inſtructions, the next for an explanation of them, all theſe pieces would ſoon compoſe a complete ſyſtem of the finances, and other parts of the ſtate. But I had no uneaſineſs upon this account; for whether Henry did this for his own inſtruction, or that he had a deſign to form other ſtateſmen upon my maxims, through a fear that I ſhould not always continue faithful to him, or whether he had an intention to employ me in other affairs, either within or without the kingdom, which would not give me leiſure for theſe, the manner which he behaved to me * gave me no reaſon to imagine that there was any thing in this procedure, but what was wiſe, good, and even advantageous for me. 1609.

When he came to the arſenal at the end of the month, I gave him thoſe four ſtates, which I ſhall not tranſcribe here; but only content myſelf with obſerving, that the total of the firſt made it appear that the equivalents amounted to one hundred and fifty-one thouſand ſeventy three livres, a ſum greatly inferior to what many perſons imagined, who had ſuggeſted to the king, that he ought to get a ſol in the livre by all. In the ſecond, notwithſtanding the great application I had given to it, ſome terms had eſcaped me, which the king could not underſtand; but I promiſed him to make it complete within the year. The total of the third was one hundred and ſeven millions four hundred forty-five thouſand three hundred and fifty three livres, ſixteen ſols, eleven deniers: that of the fourth, fifty-two millions one hundred forty-four thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-nine livres, twelve

* If we give credit to the author of L'Hiſt. de la Mere & du Fils, we ſhall find Henry IV. had other motives for this behaviour to the duke of Sully. "He was, "ſays this author, far from being pleaſed "with the conduct of M. de Sully, and "had a mind to take the management of "the finances out of his hands, in order "to put them under the direction of Ar"naud. He had often told the queen he "could no longer bear with his ill hu"mours. His diſcontent with the duke "was fixed, and he was reſolved to ſtrip "him of his office; but the time for it "was not yet proper, &c." But the reſt of this book will furniſh us with ſo ſtrong proofs of the great confidence Henry IV. had in M. de Sully, that we may conclude this author was taken in the trap, which, another writer of thoſe times informs us, this prince and his miniſter frequently laid for thoſe that were too credulous, when, in order to do their buſineſs the better, they thought proper to aſſume all the external appearances of a real miſunderſtanding, which made the courtiers ſay of them, *Like maſter, like man.*

ſols,

1609. ſols, ſix deniers. Henry only looked at the titles of theſe papers then, and gave them to La-Varenne, with orders to return them to him when he returned to the Louvre, and was in his library with Berenghen. I likewiſe gave him a liſt of all the particular accounts, which made part of the general account of the finances, or was inſerted in that account *.

As Henry went to Chatillon two days afterwards, I did not ſuppoſe he had examined, with any great degree of attention, this long liſt of accounts, which gave riſe to a little debate. One day, when his majeſty was diſcourſing with the chancellor, Villeroi, and me, and that the converſation had turned upon this ſubject, I happened to ſay, that, beſides thoſe accounts which I left to the care of my ſecretaries, there were above a hundred which I was obliged to write with my own hand, at the beginning of each year. The king ſeemed aſtoniſhed, and Villeroi likewiſe. I am perſuaded, ſaid Sillery in his ſoft gracious manner, that there muſt be a great number; but I cannot conceive how there ſhould be a hundred. I think I have a little knowledge of the matter. You have done well, monſieur, replied I, to ſay ſomething; but you would have done ſtill better to have ſaid nothing, ſince you are talking of matters that you can be informed of by no body but myſelf. There needed no more to prove which of us was in the right, than juſt to look into the liſt I had given the king, wherein thoſe, and only thoſe were comprehended. Having a copy of it in a bag of papers, which one of my ſecretaries had brought with him, I ordered him to draw near: Sillery himſelf read the paper, by which his majeſty was convinced I had ſaid no more than the truth.

While the king was at Chantilly, he wrote me the following billet, dated Wedneſday, March 25: "My friend, I mount my horſe, "after dinner, to go to Luſarche, where I intend to lye this night. "To-morrow I ſhall come very early to Paris; and, as I intend to "dine with you, provide for twelve perſons, and let us have ſome "fiſh. Adieu, my dear friend." He came accordingly, and I gave him a dinner to his taſte. After the cloths were taken away, I ordered cards and dice to be brought, and laid a purſe of four thouſand piſtoles upon the table for his majeſty, and another, with a like ſum, to lend to thoſe lords that accompanied him, and who, not expecting to play, might not have money about them. Henry was pleaſed with

* Theſe accounts are ſet forth at large in Sully's Memoirs, in the IIId. and following Volumes.

this

this ceremony. "Come hither, grand maſter, ſaid he to me, and "embrace me; for I love you, and I have reaſon to do ſo. I am ſo "agreeably ſituated here, added he, that I am reſolved to ſup and lye "here. I have ſome reaſons for not going to the Louvre to-day, which "you ſhall know after we have done play; and, in the mean time, "order three coaches to be got ready to carry me an airing, after which "you and I will have ſome diſcourſe together: but do not admit any "company while I am here, except thoſe I ſhall ſend for. I expect "to find no one here at my return." The king having paſſed the whole day entirely to his ſatisfaction, he deſired that I would give him a dinner the next day likewiſe. He continued great part of the morning ſhut up with me in my cloſet, diſcourſing upon many things, which I am not at liberty to mention. His majeſty read the accounts I had given him with great pleaſure, and ſaid to me aloud, as he went out of the cloſet, "You have given me papers with which I am highly pleaſed; "but there are ſtill many particulars which you muſt explain to me in "writing: for I ſhall not remember all you have ſaid." 1609.

All the company gathering about the king, he declared publicly his deſign of paſſing, in the ſame manner, two or three days each month at the arſenal. He commanded me to have a hall, a chamber, a wardrobe, and a cloſet, fitted up for him, without encroaching upon any of the apartments of my family; telling me, that whenever he came, for the future, he would neither be attended by his own officers, nor bring any of his cooks along with him; but that I ſhould treat him as now: adding, in a moſt obliging manner, that every way, he was of opinion, he could not be better than in my hands; but that as it was not juſt this confidence ſhould bring an increaſe of expence upon me, he would give me a gratuity of ſix thouſand crowns a year for that purpoſe only: and this he repeated again at dinner.

Before we ſat down to table, the converſation, between the fifteen or twenty perſons who were in the king's retinue, happening to turn upon thoſe great men whoſe actions are celebrated in hiſtory, Henry aſked me which of them all I moſt wiſhed he ſhould reſemble. It was not eaſy to anſwer this queſtion by a ſingle word, and the rather as Henry added, that I muſt not only have regard to their conduct and perſonal merit, but likewiſe to every thing that a man might reaſonably wiſh for; ſuch as the qualities of the body, health, and that concurrence of circumſtances by which a man is pronounced happy. To decide this queſtion, it was neceſſary to examine and compare thoſe heroes

1609. heroes one with another; and, to say the truth, I was not sorry that such an opportunity offered to cover with shame several persons in the company, for their absolute ignorance of things, which every man of birth and figure should have, at least, some slight knowledge of. The king comprehended my design, by the turn of my compliment to him, in my first reply to his question. "I find, said he, that you are not "going to appear a man of few words; but I am resolved to hear all "you have to say, which will be full as pleasing, and more advantage-"ous to me, than if I had gone, as I intended, to see them play at "mall till your dinner was ready."

Accordingly I began to give an exact representation of all those whom antiquity styles illustrious men, among whom I did not forget such of our monarchs as had been dignified with that title; as Clovis, Charlemagne, Hugh Capet, Philip Augustus, St. Lewis, Charles V. Charles VII. and Lewis XII. The quality of enemies of France did not seem to me a sufficient reason for excluding the great names of Edward III. and Charles V. I named none without making their characters known to the company, at least, in general, by strokes, which, tho' slight, for the sake of brevity, yet displayed their good and bad qualities, and the happy or unfortunate events of their reigns. It is now your part, Sire, said I, (after I had finished this enumeration, which had obliged me to continue speaking a long time) to declare which of these great kings you would chuse to resemble, and to examine whether you would not lose by the comparison; you, who in many things, have certainly surpassed them all. "Before I decide "this point, replied his majesty, it is necessary I should consider more "attentively what you have said as well good as ill, concerning each "of these princes: but your dinner, which is served (for indeed we "were informed that it was time to place ourselves at table) will not "afford us leisure for it now; therefore we must defer it till another "time. However, I desire you will reduce your discourse to writing; "after which I will tell you what I think of it, as well as of your "last words, which you only added, said this prince with a gracious air, "to make your repast more agreeable."

While we were at table, some of the company, to shew their reading, renewed the subject we had just been treating; and mentioned several circumstances in history with great ostentation: but, at the same time, confounded persons and things in so ridiculous a manner, that the king could not help laughing at them, while he made me a compliment

pliment upon the ſtrength of my memory. I ſuffered the king to remain in this advantageous opinion of me till we roſe from table, when I told him, in private, the fortunate accident to which it was owing; for I happened, three days before, to meet with an extract of the lives of illuſtrious men, which I had made during the time that I employed myſelf in the ſtudy of hiſtory; and, that very day, had made it the ſubject of converſation with ſome of my friends, which had recalled all my former ideas, and furniſhed me with thoſe circumſtances I had related. This learned ſcene was ſucceeded by cards, dice, and piſtoles. I went, in the mean time, into the hall, where I ſpared his majeſty the fatigue of giving audience, he being employed more to his taſte; for he gained, that afternoon, two thouſand five hundred piſtoles, and came out in very good humour to take an airing in the coaches I had ordered to be prepared for him, as he had done the evening before, after which he returned to the Louvre. 1609.

Five or ſix days after I had the honour to treat and lodge the king at the arſenal, he was informed that ſome reports were ſpread in ſeveral provinces relating to things, which, he imagined, were only known to himſelf and me: for indeed, he had imparted them to me with the utmoſt ſecrecy. For ſome days he ſuſpected that I had been indiſcreet in divulging theſe ſecrets, while I, tho' he often aſked me who were thoſe intimate friends I had in Bourbonnois and Berry, had not the leaſt doubt of his ſuſpicion. At length he called me to him one day, "Come hither, grand maſter, ſaid he to me, and anſwer "truly to the queſtions I am going to aſk you." I promiſed faithfully to do ſo; but with this condition, that if his queſtions related to any thing, wherein, by anſwering, I might diſpleaſe him, that he ſhould command me abſolutely to ſpeak my ſentiments freely, and promiſe not to be offended if I obeyed him. He replied, that his queſtions were not of that nature; and then opening his whole heart to me, I juſtified myſelf by oaths, which perfectly convincing him of my innocence, his vexation was ſucceeded by a ſurpriſe which I felt in no leſs a degree than himſelf.

However, it was not long before I unravelled this myſtery. A letter, written by father Cotton to father Ignatius, a jeſuit at Moulins, was brought to me in a packet that came from Bourges, and laid open the whole affair. With this letter, which filled me with a real joy, I went to wait upon the king, who was arrived at the Louvre with the queen, whom he had gone as far as Anet to meet. After ſome converſation

1609. verſation upon Anet and Chantilly, I ſaid to him, "Sire, the other day, you ordered me to ſwear that I would tell you the truth: do not be offended if I entreat you, in my turn, to tell me whether you have never mentioned, to any other than me, thoſe things you accuſe me of having revealed: if you have not, certainly there are ſome perſons about you who have a familiar ſpirit, and can dive into the moſt ſecret thoughts." The king ſmiled, and lightly tapped my cheek; then embracing me, "I am too deſirous that you ſhould be always ſincere with "me, ſaid he, to give you an example of inſincerity. I confeſs then, "that I have mentioned thoſe affairs both to father Cotton and Bering-"hen; but I can anſwer for the laſt, that he has never revealed them." "Neither is it he, but the jeſuit, ſaid I; and this letter," giving it into his hands, "will prove it." His majeſty read it; and here it follows tranſcribed entire:

"Rev. father, Pax Chriſti. I never wrote ſo ſeldom before, or de-"ſired to write ſo often. Your reverence may, if you pleaſe, lay the "fault upon my buſineſs, particularly at this time. M. de Citeaux "will be ſatisfied with an abbey near his own, which is, at preſent, "in the hands of a canon of the holy chapel, ſeventy years old; and, "in return for the ſaid abbey, will procure to be granted by a gene-"ral chapter, which will be held after Whitſuntide, whatever we deſire "of Bellebranche. There is a diſturbance at Orleans about the buſi-"neſs of the college, by ſome ſecret practices; but God will direct "all. The king has written to the mayor and aldermen, to M. d'Or-"leans, M. the lieutenant-general, M. the prevôt, to his attorney, "and to M. de La Chatre. I join my letters to M. D'Eſcures, who ſets "out to-morrow, and promiſes to bring every thing to a concluſion. "The king has alſo given thirty thouſand livres to La Fleche, upon the "advice which I communicated to your reverence. His majeſty goes "to Chantilly on Tueſday, and the queen, four days afterwards, to "Chartres, who will go and meet him at Anet, and then come here "and to Fontainebleau. That paſſion you know of ſtill continues, "notwithſtanding which, the marriages of M. the prince, and M. de "Vendome will be celebrated after Eaſter. All is again upon a good "footing with the man of the arſenal, whatever endeavours have been "uſed to prevent it. The eldeſt ſon of M. de Crequy is to have the "young de Verneuil; and the treaty of marriage between the marquis "de Roſny and the eldeſt daughter of that nobleman ſtill goes for-"ward: for the father will not hear of breaking it off. M. des Yve-"teaux is employed in the affair. The ſieur Collin has demanded "permiſſion to ſtay in the college du Mont till the middle of Auguſt;

"but

" but M. Savary will not agree to his ſtaying longer than till Eaſter. 1609.
" The edict againſt duels is loudly called for. The preachers have
" done their duty concerning it; but father Gontry diſguſts the king
" from time to time, tho' I am endeavouring to ward off the blow.
" He ſays, that his ſermons are ſeditious, and that they will one day
" give riſe to a ſchiſm in our religion, or in the church. M. Bremont
" is reſolved to enter into our ſociety. You will ſee his laudable incli-
" nation by the incloſed letter, with one from the reverend father de
" La-Tour, which I found upon my table without knowing how it
" came there. M. de Bourges told me this day, that father Sallian is
" very well ſatisfied, and has loſt nothing by his change. It is given
" out, that father Changer has changed; a thing that has been
" long dreaded. I am reconciled to M. the count of Soiſſons, and
" upon better terms with him than ever; but I have had neither vic-
" tuals nor money ſince January. The queen took me with her to
" Chartres, and places greater confidence in me than uſual. M. de
" La-Varenne ſays, that he is very willing to ſerve your brother; but
" not in the way you propoſe: for it is impoſſible to introduce the uſe of
" keeping horſes to lett, without hurting the relays and poſts; but
" he offers to do any thing elſe for him that is in his power. The re-
" verend father Raimond has been here, and has brought the ſum of
" four hundred livres for alms, without the materials of Talan for
" ſome part of them, which M. Le-Grande promiſed him. Our
" brother Paran is now diſcharged from the exerciſe of this office; for
" I have an anſwer from Rome, by which I have been informed, that
" the union has been approved by our holy father the pope, and the
" alms given by his holineſs ſolely upon my account, " quaſi fuit ejus be-
" nevolentiæ." I have delayed reviſing and printing my book till the
" ſummer, or till after autumn. The truce, for nine years, in Flan-
" ders is almoſt determined. Ten of our fathers have been taken
" coming from the Balearean iſlands to Spain, by Simon Danſa, a Dutch
" corſair, who has a wife at Marſeilles. The king is endeavouring to
" procure their freedom. Notwithſtanding ſome little ſallies of ill hu-
" mour, he favours and loves the ſociety. " Quod ſupereſt," I am in
" great need of ſpiritual ſuccours; " Oraque pro paupere," who is your
" Reverence's moſt affectionate

" And moſt humble ſervant,

Paris, March 18,
1609.

PETER COTTON."

1609. P.S. "The marchioneſs de Meſnelay is reſolved to take the veil, notwithſtanding all the entreaties of her friends to the contrary. M. "Avias, rector of the chief church, lies at the point of death: his "diſtemper is a ſpotted fever: he is a good prieſt, a faithful friend, "and is going to his God."

Henry read this letter twice from beginning to end; and although he concealed from me great part of his thoughts, yet I read in his countenance the uneaſineſs it gave him. "I muſt confeſs," ſaid he to me, "that there is more prudence and fidelity in your actions, and "more truth and ſincerity in your words, obſtinate huguenot as you are, "than in many catholics, and even eccleſiaſtics, who make profeſſion "of great piety and regularity of conduct." Upon the approach of M. the count of Soiſſons, he left me to go to this prince, to whom I believe he related all, and even ſhewed him the letter, in which he had a place as well as others. I was extremely glad that I had kept a copy of this letter; for his majeſty would never return me the original.

Father Cotton was very uneaſy * at the accident which had happened to his letter; but he comforted himſelf a little, when he was told, that I had neither ſhewn it nor mentioned the contents to any one but the king. He thought he owed me ſome acknowledgement for this moderation; and likewiſe, that ſome trifling juſtification was neceſſary. A letter I received from him, at his return from a journey he had taken into one of the provinces, was calculated to ſerve both theſe purpoſes. His letter was dated from Fontainebleau, where the court then was, and ſent to me at Paris. He took occaſion to praiſe the goodneſs of my heart, and the ſweetneſs of my temper; ſince all the endeavours that had been uſed to give me a bad impreſſion of him, had not, he ſaid, been able to make any alteration in my kindneſs to him. He acknowledged, that a man, leſs generous than myſelf, would have made this letter a pretence for preſerving ſome reſentment againſt him. He did not ſay why; for doubtleſs, in his opinion, the terms in which

* In the Anti-Cotton, p. 461, we find that father Cotton was in diſgrace with the king for ſix weeks, for having diſcloſed his ſecrets to a Spaniſh provincial: but this is one of thoſe libels which deſerve no credit. On a ſimilar occaſion, Henry IV. ſaid to his miniſters, taking the preſident Jeannin by the hand, "I will be anſwerable for "this good man; but it is proper for the "reſt of you to examine your own con-"duct."

he

he had expreſſed himſelf concerning me, were not a ſufficient cauſe for the anger of a generous man: nor, indeed, would I allow myſelf to be offended by them. Father Cotton muſt certainly underſtand his own meaning better than any other perſon; and if he was conſcious of having intended any injury to "the man of the arſenal," he would not have had the confidence to entreat him, as he did, in this letter, to remember the building of the jeſuits church, and the apartments deſtined for their claſſes, at Poitiers, by verifying the accounts in which ſuch expences as theſe were comprehended. Here he again introduced an eulogium upon my charity, followed by an ardent prayer that God would finiſh his work by inſpiring me with right ſentiments of the good religion*. 1609.

Not long after this affair, I plainly perceived, that ſome new, and more conſiderable cauſe of uneaſineſs had been given the king; for all his endeavours to diſſipate his diſquiet, ſerved only to diſcover, and probably to encreaſe it. He ſtaid eight whole days out of Paris, indulging his melancholy in places where it could not be obſerved, at Livry, and another houſe belonging to Montbazon. When he returned he paſſed moſt of his days in hunting, doubtleſs, that he might be longer and more frequently alone. This, however, was not the true remedy for his diſeaſe. He came, at length, to the arſenal to ſeek ſome comfort in diſcloſing his thoughts to me. He came up directly to my cloſet,

* From what follows, as extracted out of the Hiſtory of France, it will appear M. de Sully did not ſo readily forgive father Cotton: "Towards the end of this year, "the jeſuits having obtained a gift from "the king of a hundred thouſand francs, "to finiſh the building of their chapel at "La-Flèche, came to M. de Sully for "payment of it. Father Cotton told him, "with his uſual ſmoothneſs, that his ma-"jeſty had made the ſociety a ſmall pre-"ſent of a hundred thouſand livres for the "chapel of La-Flèche. How, ſays the "duke of Sully, do you call a hundred "thouſand livres a ſmall preſent for you? "The king gives you too much; but you "will get nothing of me. Father Cotton "deſired to know the reaſon of this refuſal. "I do not think myſelf obliged, anſwered "the duke, nor will I give any to you; "but I ſhall give my reaſons for it to the "king. Father Cotton complained of "this to the king, who, to ſatisfy him, "publicly chid the duke for it: and told "him he would have his commands obey-"ed. M. de Sully, nevertheleſs, did not "do what the king had ordered, in re-"gard to the jeſuits chapel at La-Flèche." The ſame author obſerves, in another place, that it is very well known, at that time, that when the king and his miniſter thus appeared of oppoſite ſentiments in public, it had often been privately concerted between them. What gives one reaſon to believe that had been the caſe then was, "That his majeſty, as this wri-"ter adds, at this very time, gave the "duke thirty thouſand crowns for a new-"year's gift, inſtead of twenty thouſand, "which he uſed to give him before: with "which the jeſuits were not all pleaſed." Anno 1609.

without

1609. without permitting any one to inform me of his arrival, and tapped at my door himſelf. I opened it, expecting nothing leſs than ſuch a viſit, and was yet in my morning dreſs, with my night-gown and cap on. He bid me good morning; aſked me what I was doing; then, ordering all that were preſent to withdraw, he came into the cloſet with me, and ſhut the door; while I, with a fixed attention, beheld his unquiet motions, now ſeating himſelf, now riſing, and walking haſtily about the room, all ſigns of the agitation of his mind, as well as the vivacity with which he talked for more than two hours that we continued alone. I ſhall have no reaſon for diſguiſing the ſubject of this agitation, or concealing our diſcourſe; which might, likewiſe, be eaſily overheard by thoſe without. His majeſty thought they had all left the little hall, and were gone to walk either in the great one, the courts, or the gardens: but ſome of them ſtaid at the door of the cloſet, excited by their curioſity to liſten; for the melancholy of this prince had been obſerved by every one. Thoſe, therefore, that ſtood at the door might hear almoſt every word that paſſed.

At firſt, he talked only of news relating to the emperor, ſome princes of Germany, the archdukes, and the preſident Richardot; after which, Henry confeſſing that there was ſomething elſe which lay nearer to his heart, began a long diſcourſe, during which I did hardly any thing elſe but liſten to him. As his majeſty believed that I, as well as the whole court, ſuppoſed the new quarrels between him and the queen, were occaſioned by the paſſion it was publicly ſaid he had conceived for Mademoiſelle de Montmorency, a few days ſince married to the prince of Condé, it was with this article he began, which had always given me infinite uneaſineſs.

When I firſt perceived this growing inclination in Henry, I foreſaw much greater inconveniencies from it than from any of his former attachments, on account of the birth and relations of the young lady, and I uſed my utmoſt endeavours to prevent the progreſs of it; endeavours which, though abſolutely fruitleſs, I renewed again, when the king propoſed to me his deſign of marrying her to M. the prince; for I had no reaſon to expect that Henry, upon this occaſion, would exert that generous ſelf-denial which ſome lovers have ſhewn themſelves capable of, when they have taken this method to impoſe upon themſelves the neceſſity of renouncing the object of their paſſion. Indeed it was the very contrary which I apprehended; and this belief offering nothing to my view but deep reſentment, rage, and exclamation, from the injured

injured prince, the relations of the princeſs, and the queen, I therefore neglected nothing which I thought could diſſuade him from taking this reſolution. I entreated, I remonſtrated, I threw myſelf at the feet of Henry, I not only importuned; I fatigued, I perſecuted him; but all in vain: the fatal marriage was reſolved on *. 1609.

These circumſtances the king himſelf recalled to my remembrance, to convince me, he ſaid, that, although I had foretold pretty juſtly the effects which love and jealouſy might produce, yet I had not foreſeen all that the malignity of his enemies was capable of ſuggeſting to encreaſe thoſe fatal effects. This prince, part of whoſe character it was to pay an inviolable regard to truth, tho' he expoſed his own failings by it, would not pretend to deny that there was ſome foundation for the public opinion and diſcourſe. And, indeed, the paſſionate manner in which he talked of the high birth, the wit, and beauty of Mademoiſelle de Montmorency, was ſufficient to betray his ſentiments; but it was not to thoſe mean and inſolent Italians, ſuch as Conchini, Vinti, Guidi, Joannini, that he was accountable for his actions, who juſtly deſerved to be puniſhed for daring to exaggerate what little faults there might be in his conduct, in order to enrage the queen, and force her to take violent reſolutions, which might give ſome colour for their pernicious deſigns. It was theſe deſigns which Henry was informed of from all parts, which filled him with apprehenſions and diſquiet, and hardly left him one moment of tranquility. He had mentioned ſomething of them in his letters to me, while he had yet only mere ſuſpicions of their tendency: but theſe ſuſpicions were changed into an abſolute certainty, by the letters that La-Varenne and Zamet had communicated to him; by what he had been told by the younger Zamet at his return from Italy and Spain; and, laſtly by the informations he had received from Vaucelas, his ambaſſador at Madrid. We ſhall ſoon ſee that my brother-in-law was not a ſuſpected witneſs.

His inſtructions †, when he was ſent ambaſſador to Spain, were ſuch as rather ſhewed an intention to keep open the difference between France and the houſe of Auſtria, than to come to an accommodation

* It was celebrated at Chantilly without any pomp. The marchioneſs of Verneuil ſaid, "The king had made this match "to ſink the heart of the prince of Condé, "and to raiſe his head." Mem. Hiſt. de Fr. Anno 1609.

† The titles given in theſe inſtructions to the count de Vaucelas, are counſellor of ſtate, &c. camp-maſter of the regiment and companies of infantry of Piedmont. Vol. 8955. MSS. Royeaux.

with

1609. with it. He was a witneſs of the intrigues that the queen's agents carried on at Madrid, which they did in a manner ſo public and unreſtrained, that he could not imagine it was unknown to the king, or even without his orders that they acted. Theſe proceedings at firſt ſurpriſed, and afterwards mortified him to the laſt degree; for, believing that the council of France had abſolutely changed its ſyſtem, without acquainting him with the new reſolutions they had taken, it muſt neceſſarily be, that his majeſty had withdrawn from him his uſual confidence, leaving him only the vain title of ambaſſador, while he entruſted to ſome other perſons his important ſecrets, and the management of his moſt eſſential affairs. Full of this thought he ſuppoſed, that, if the king ſeemed, in appearance, not to have changed his opinion of him, or altered his behaviour, it was through his reſpect and regard for me, that he might ſpare me the uneaſineſs of knowing he deſpiſed my brother-in-law, who would not have failed to expreſs his uneaſineſs to me, if he had not endeavoured to free him from ſuch an opinion.

Possessed with this belief, Vaucelas determined to inſinuate in two words to La-Varenne, and through him to the king, that he had reaſon to fear he had loſt his majeſty's favour; but in his letter to his brother-in-law, which was much longer, he opened his heart freely, and entreated him to diſcover the cauſe of his diſgrace, and to repreſent to his majeſty, but with all poſſible reſpect, that it was unjuſt, and in ſome degree injurious to his ambaſſador, to employ one of a foreign prince preferably to him: it was the ambaſſador from the duke of Florence whom he meant; and, indeed, he treated about theſe affairs at Madrid, either without the knowledge, or with the conſent of the Spaniſh council, with ſo much authority, that it is not ſurpriſing Vaucelas ſhould be deceived. He, therefore, entreated his majeſty, by his brother-in-law, to reſtore him to his good opinion and confidence; and to believe, that no conſideration of friendſhip or alliance ſhould ever prevail upon him to diſcloſe the ſecrets of his maſter to me, which was what I had myſelf recommended to him to obſerve with inviolable fidelity.

This letter gave the king a clear knowledge of thoſe things, of which he had hitherto had but confuſed notions, and doubtful conjectures. His ſurpriſe was extreme; and, indeed, who could have imagined, that one half of the council and court ſhould dare openly to croſs deſigns, which the king had avowed, without being apprehenſive either

either of his reſentment, or the infamy which, on any other occaſion, must have attended ſuch proceedings? Certainly this was a circumſtance very uncommon in politics, and very different from all its maxims. They formed a party by methods, which, in any other caſe, tended to deſtroy it; to obtain their end, they pretended they had already obtained it; and ſecrecy was what they had leaſt concern about: this, however, is to be underſtood only of their behaviour and the appearances they gave to things, and not of their deſigns, and the real methods they took to carry them on; for, after the king had returned Vaucelas ſuch an anſwer as was proper to remove his ſuſpicions, he could not, with all his induſtry, diſcover the bottom of this myſtery, nor many particular circumſtances which he endeavoured to find out. All he knew was, that, by theſe intrigues, it was deſigned to blaſt his majeſty's deſigns againſt the houſe of Auſtria, by bringing him, either willingly or by force, into an union with Spain: that the Florentine ambaſſador correſponded with certain perſons of the queen's houſhold, whom he named, upon this ſubject; and with others of higher rank, whom his reſpect forbad him to mention: the reſt he was wholly ignorant of. 1609.

Part of theſe curious circumſtances which Henry now told me, I knew not before: this prince added, that he did not doubt but thoſe perſons, whom his ambaſſador would not name, were the queen and Villeroi. All the converſation they had with him tended only to this end; and the laſt advices he had received, relating to the double marriages, could have their riſe only from them, ſince the perſons employed in negociating theſe alliances had, it was ſaid, gone ſo far with the council of Madrid, as to declare that they had the means in their power of obliging the king to conſent to them, even with the clauſe that Spain, by giving the infanta to the Dauphin, ſhould reſerve to itſelf all the rights that this marriage might afterwards inveſt her with*. This it was that aſtoniſhed, and even terrified Henry. He might have been able to find a meaning in ſuch ſtrong and poſitive affirmations, if his deſigns againſt the houſe of Auſtria were as little known, and as undetermined, as they were three or four years ago; but that they ſhould

* One would be ſurprized, after this, to find Siri, Mem. recond. Vol. I. p. 187, advance, that Henry IV. wiſhed for nothing ſo much as the marriage of the Dauphin with the infanta of Spain. Nothing further is neceſſary to prove this ſtranger took his information of the tranſactions of the council of France, at that time, from hear-ſay only. I alſo think him ſtill more blameable for that partiality he diſcovers, almoſt every where, againſt the perſon and politics of this prince.

1609. talk in this manner in a court where they could not be ignorant that he had already taken a quite contrary reſolution, and that nothing would ever make him alter it while he lived; this it was that gave him, in ſpite of himſelf, the moſt dreadful apprehenſions.

It is certain that all Europe knew he was endeavouring to ally himſelf to the duke of Savoy, by marrying the Dauphin to the heireſs of Lorrain, that he might one day unite this ſtate with France; and that it was partly to ſupport this claim, that he attached to his intereſt, by ſo many acts of kindneſs and munificence, the German princes, who could aſſiſt him in this enterpriſe againſt all thoſe who might attempt to traverſe it. It was known likewiſe, that he intended to marry his ſecond ſon to Mademoiſelle de Monpenſier *, and that they were already contracted; to give his eldeſt daughter to the prince of Wales, whom, upon my report, he preferred to all the princes of Europe; and, laſtly, to bring about a marriage between his third ſon and the princeſs of Mantua, grand-daughter to the duke of Savoy, to give him a reaſon or pretence for a footing in Italy. I believe it will be eaſily granted, that his majeſty, by poſſeſſing Mantua and Montferrat, with a free entrance into theſe two little ſtates, and by being aſſured of the duke of Savoy lately become poſſeſſor of the Milaneze, and having a firm dependence upon the Venetians, our inſeparable allies, nothing could have hindered him from giving law to all Italy, without, as this prince ſaid, incurring the guilt of detaining unjuſtly the poſſeſſions of another.

Henry took ſo much pleaſure in talking at length of his political ſchemes, that he forgot he was ſpeaking to a man who knew them all as well as himſelf: but he returned again to the Spaniſh cabal, and to his own apprehenſions, which their acting as if they were aſſured he had but a very ſhort time to live, gave riſe to. Whatever might be the foundation of this ſuſpicion, it was ſtrengthened and encreaſed, when he reflected, that innumerable prognoſtics were every where ſpread amongſt the people, which fixed his death in the fifty-eighth year of his age, a prediction which was given out to be a divine inſpiration, becauſe it was zealouſly ſupported by a certain nun, then in great veneration. Paſithea, for that was the name of this devotee, had been ſome time in France; and when ſhe left it, continued to correſpond, by letters, with the queen. And it was this nun whom the faction made uſe of,

* Mary of Bourbon, daughter, and ſole heireſs of Henry duke of Montpenſier, who died the year before.

to

to perſuade that princeſs to be crowned with all the magnificence and all the ceremonies neceſſary to preſerve to her the authority which, they ſaid, ſhe would have occaſion for after the death of the king, which was not far off. They likewiſe talked publicly of bringing back this enthuſiaſt. 1609.

This deſign, theſe diſcourſes and preſages, were continually in Henry's thoughts, kept his fears and ſuſpicions always awake, and filled him with melancholy and diſmay. "I do not deſire this," ſaid he to me, ſpeaking of the coronation; and here I ſhall relate his own words, which are but too remarkable: "Neither, continued he, "can I endure, that this Paſithea ſhould return again to France. My "heart tells me, that ſome diſaſter will happen to me, or that the "government will be thrown into diſorder, if my wife obſtinately in- "ſiſts upon her coronation, which, I am told, the Conchinis adviſe her to, "and likewiſe continues her deſign of bringing back Paſithea. It is certain "we ſhall quarrel on both theſe accounts; and if I diſcover more con- "cerning her deſigns in Spain, I ſhall be provoked to the laſt degree "againſt her." I know not whether this prince was miſtaken in his opinion of the queen his wife; but, I confeſs, I was ſtruck with the reflection he afterwards made, that this princeſs did not proceed to ſuch extremities with him on account of Mademoiſelle de Montmorency, and other ladies, whom he had been fond of, from any motive of jealouſy; but becauſe her wicked counſellors perſuaded her, that ſhe had occaſion for a pretence for being upon ill terms with the king, or, at leaſt, to appear ſo: and gave the public this excuſe for want of a better: that myſelf, and every one elſe, had attributed to jealouſy what was, in reality, the effect of a moſt refined malice. I make here very ſhocking diſcoveries, if it be true, that the queen's confidants made uſe of this damnable artifice, to conceal and carry on deſigns too black and horrible to name.

But to convince me that I had no reaſon to doubt it, Henry reminded me, that upon ſo ſlight a foundation as that of ſpeaking oftener than uſual to the ducheſs of Nevers, and ſeeming pleaſed with her converſation, that lady was ranked among the number of his miſtreſſes the preceding year, and Mademoiſelle de Montmorency in this, that the opinion of the court and the public, concerning his eſtrangement from the queen, might be ſtill kept up, which it was neceſſary to do, at any price whatever: and from thence he concluded, that all his endeavours to put a ſtop to theſe reports would be fruitleſs; and that,

1609. if he ſhould even reſolve to ſee the princeſs of Condé no more, yet that would not ſilence the malicious reports of people who had ſuch ſtrong reaſons for preventing all accommodation between him and his wife. He declared, that he would never attempt to obtain any favours of the princeſs of Condé, to the prejudice of her honour; that, if he could not ſubdue his paſſion, he would, at leaſt, reſtrain its effects, and reſpect the ſacred tye, which he had only formed to impoſe ſilence on his own wiſhes. He ſaid this * with great ſeeming ſincerity, and I ſhould abſolutely have relied upon this aſſurance, if I had not known how eaſy it was for a heart, tender and paſſionate as his, to be deceived by itſelf.

The king continued ſtill to talk of the queen's counſellors, and, among others, of Conchini and his wife. He told me ſeveral circumſtances concerning theſe foreigners, after which I could no longer look upon them but as monſters: he ſaid, that they hindred the queen from eating of any thing that he ſent her, and perſuaded her to make a kitchen of their apartment. But why did his majeſty inveigh thus alternately againſt theſe Italians and the queen, and do no more? I agreed with him, that the former deſerved the ſevereſt puniſhments that could be inflicted; and that it was, indeed, very ſurpriſing, that this princeſs ſhould make friends and confidants only of thoſe perſons, who, at the time of the Third Party, had given the moſt violent counſels againſt his life; or with others who were now not leſs his enemies †. But what was I able to do for his deliverance, when he would not aſſiſt my en-

* The marſhal de Baſſompierre, to whom mademoiſelle de Montmorency was offered in marriage, amongſt other diſcourſes on this ſubject, relates the following from Henry IV. to him: "He anſwered me, with a deep ſigh, Baſſompierre, I will ſpeak to thee as a friend. I am "not only in love, but madly, deſperately, "in love with mademoiſelle de Montmorency. If thou ſhouldſt marry her, I "ſhould hate thee: ſhould ſhe love me, "thou wouldſt hate me. It will be beſt "to prevent the poſſibility of this becoming the cauſe of a breach of our friendſhip; for I love thee with great affection, "and by inclination. I am reſolved to "marry her to my nephew, the prince of "Condé, and to have her in my family: "ſhe ſhall be the comfort and entertainment of my old age, which is coming "on. I will give my nephew, who loves "hunting a thouſand times better than "the ladies, a hundred thouſand livres a "year to amuſe himſelf with. I ſhall deſire no other favour of her but her affection, without pretending to any thing "further." Vol. I. p. 229. But in the end, this paſſion, as M. de Sully had foreſeen, hurried Henry far beyond the bounds he had preſcribed himſelf.

† Queen Mary de Medicis did, on every occaſion, give ſo many convincing proofs of a real affection for her huſband, that thoſe who have juſtified and praiſed all her actions, as the author of l'Hiſtoire de la Mere & du Fils, have not even thought it neceſſary to refute any of the charges againſt her in Sully's Memoirs: and this miniſter

deavours;

deavours? Would any one imagine that this long discourse, which I am persuaded every reader must feel himself interested in, should end only in repeated entreaties to be attentive to the arts of the Spaniards, and to undertake again to persuade the queen that she ought to sacrifice the Conchinis, and all the rest who disturbed their peace, to the assurance he gave her by me, that, if she required it, he would never visit any woman more, married or unmarried? "For it is not just," said this too good and too gentle prince, "that I should deprive myself of all "my pleasures to satisfy her, unless she will do the same for me; or "that I should consent to all her desires, while she continues to oppose "all mine." 1609.

He permitted me to communicate to Sillery what I thought proper of this conversation; but not to Villeroi "I will go to dinner," said he, for, indeed, it was very late, "and leave you at liberty to reflect on "all I have said to you. I rose this morning by break of day; for I "did not sleep all night, my mind was so much disturbed with these "thoughts; nor should I have had better rest this night than the pre- "ceding, if I had not disclosed them all to you." His majesty then got into my coach, which I had ordered to be made ready for him, saying to me in the presence of a great number of persons who were in the court, "Farewel, my friend, I love you most affectionately; "continue to serve me always thus, and remember all the conversations "we have had together; for you are as dear to me as you can, or "ought to desire."

I believe I have formerly justified, by the most solid reasons, my perseverance in the opinion that all these plots, half foreign, half do-

himself, on the closest observation, never once imputes, or takes notice of the king's imputing any thing to her, but her countenancing, by too great a confidence and credulity, the bad designs of some of her court; designs in which those persons took care never to engage this princess, but where they could do it by exciting a jealousy in her, which it was natural in her to conceive against her husband's mistresses. This is the only manner of judging of the behaviour of the king and queen, that enables one to find the key to many of their words and actions, which, with ut that assistance, would appear totally contradictory; since, at the same time, in the same persons, they denote confidence and diffidence, esteem and indifference, affection and coldness. The historian I am quoting gives many instances, both good and bad, of this: he represents Henry alternately complaining of and praising the queen; sometimes inclinable to part from her entirely, or at least, to keep her at a distance from him; at other times thinking no one of his council, but her, capable of the administration of affairs in his absence, or to support the weight of a regency. Hist. de la Mere & du Fils, Vol. I. pag.

mestic

1609. meſtic, againſt his majeſty's life, were neither real, nor greatly to be feared. I confeſs, however, that there were ſome moments wherein the force of my attachment to my prince would not permit me to hear, with indifference, all that was reported on this ſubject; nor could all my firmneſs hinder me from being terrified at what I knew to be a mere phantom. My mind was in this ſtate all the time that Henry continued ſpeaking to me, and after he had left me. It was pretty remarkable, that, during the whole time Henry ſtaid with me, I liſtened to him with a profound ſilence; not uttering one word in anſwer to what he ſaid. When I ſat down to dinner, the agitation of my heart, and the dark ſuſpenſe which clouded my mind, threw me into a dejection and faintneſs, which gave me a diſguſt to every thing that was placed before me. Certainly there was no neceſſity for Henry's deſiring me to make reflections on what he had ſaid to me: I gave myſelf up entirely to them. I carried my views as far as I was able, that I might foreſee every poſſible danger, and trace the remoteſt cauſe for ſuſpicion.

Yet, when this firſt tumult of my thoughts ſubſided, and more calm and ſettled conſiderations had taken place of thoſe confuſed ideas that perplexed my mind, I was obliged to conclude, as I had always done, that it was Henry's apprehenſions which had given riſe to mine, and that his had no certain foundation. The council of Madrid, ſeeing that the king began to advance in years, and had already felt the attacks of ſome dangerous diſtempers, were willing to begin, in time, to make the queen and the French council reliſh a piece of policy, to which they might owe their ſecurity. The Spaniards found perſons among the French who were ſtrongly inclined to enter into their meaſures, and they made uſe of them to carry them on, that they might ſpare themſelves the ſhame of making demands which were likely to be refuſed. If this was really the caſe, the Spaniſh council might reaſonably be ſuppoſed to feign the contrary for a long time, and deſtroy or abate the ardour of the allies of France, deceived by this appearance. There was nothing in this conjecture which did not agree with the character of the Spaniſh nation, eſtabliſhed by an infinite number of the like proceedings. When Philip II. urged monſieur the duke of Alençon to engage in the enterpriſe againſt Antwerp, an enterpriſe which ruined his affairs and blaſted his reputation, this was all that he ſecretly promiſed himſelf by it, while, in appearance, he ſeemed to look upon it as a neceſſary ſtroke, to ſecure to that prince the ſovereignty of the Low-Countries, which was the bait he threw out for him. But is this a ſufficient foundation for ſaying, that Spain was endeavouring to become miſtreſs

of

of the king's life? How many motives rendered the perſon and intereſts of that prince dear to the French nation, and even to thoſe very courtiers whom, as it ſhould ſeem, the Spaniards had engaged in their party? But to what exceſſes may not the human heart be carried when impelled by a violent paſſion? I am ſeized with horror at the very idea of actions, which theſe apprehenſions muſt ſuppoſe perſons to be guilty of, whoſe birth, education, and ſentiments reſtrain them from atrocious crimes, and black attempts, although they leave them capable of ſome tranſient weakneſſes. Ought I to account for my thinking and ſpeaking thus, from the reſpect I owe to certain perſons, the delicacy of my ſentiments, or merely from the deteſtation I feel for wickedneſs, and the rectitude of my own heart? However that may be, it is certain, that, after all theſe reflections, I found my mind in the ſame calm ſituation it was before the king ſpoke to me; and if that gentleneſs of diſpoſition, which he was too well known to poſſeſs, gave me, from time to time, reaſon to be apprehenſive, that licentiouſneſs would gain ground through a hope of paſſing unpuniſhed, yet I did not fear any of thoſe dreadful blows * which bring with them a ſudden conſternation. 1609.

With regard to the other part of his majeſty's diſcourſe, it would have been more proper for this prince to have put an end, at once, to

* I am afraid M. de Sully paid too little regard to reports and ſuſpicions of ſo great moment as thoſe here in queſtion. "There "were, at that time," ſays the author of the Memoirs for the Hiſtory of France, "ſo many reports of conſpiracies againſt "the king, that this was commonly be-"lieved at Paris to be the principal rea-"ſon of the long reſidence Don Pedro de "Toledo made there, which made his de-"parture to be earneſtly wiſhed for." Henry's fears, therefore, were not without foundation: and M. de Sully on this, as on many other occaſions, was, unhappily for this prince, too much attached to his own opinions. It would anſwer no end to conceal, that a little vanity and obſtinacy were the defects in a character, in other reſpects, to be envied on a thouſand accounts.

It is manifeſt, from reading the Memoirs of that time, that the ſmall number of Henry IV's ſervants, who had an unfeigned affection for him, did not make uſe of all the precautions they might, to guard againſt the unfortunate accident that happened to him. Perhaps no ſolid anſwer can be given to thoſe who may call this ſentiment a judgment after the fact: and it muſt alſo be allowed, that if all the dark and ſecret plots, mentioned in an infinite number of places in theſe Memoirs, tho' nothing clear and poſitive touching them was ever diſcovered, were real, as the event ſeems to have proved, they could not fail of producing their effect, from the averſion this prince was known to have to ſeverity and revenge. Thoſe who from ſuch examples draw arguments to turn the minds of ſovereigns to deſpotiſm and cruelty, merit the utmoſt degree of hatred from mankind.

The manner in which the duke of Sully here lays open the bottom of his thoughts and opinions of thoſe plots, abſolutely deſtroys a doubt ſome, who ſeriouſly conſidered the tranſactions of thoſe times, have made, viz. That the duke was perfectly all

1609. all reproaches from the queen, by beginning immediately to diſengage himſelf from thoſe attachments, which were but little ſuitable to his years; or, at leaſt, in theſe ſallies, to preſerve his reaſon ſo far unclouded, as to avoid any attachment which might raiſe an amour into an affair of policy. Thoſe gallantries, which Henry had been engaged in, were always deſtructive either to his glory or his intereſt, and certainly to his quiet. However, in the princeſs of Condé love laid the moſt dangerous ſnare for him it had ever done: all the conſequences were juſtly and greatly to be feared.

From theſe reflections it may be conceived what anſwer I made to the king, when, according to his orders, I waited on him five or ſix days afterwards: he had left his chamber, and was gone through the great gallery to walk in the Tuillieres. We walked together in the firſt gallery, for more than an hour. I removed his apprehenſions, and reſtored him to his former tranquility. He took a reſolution to redouble his efforts to baniſh, if poſſible, from his council and court, all this Spaniſh policy; and promiſed to educate his children, and the young prince, who was heir to his crown, in his own maxims; to bind the proteſtants to their king and their country, by the cloſeſt ties; and endeavour, with equal ſolicitude, to baniſh all foreigners from any participation in affairs of ſtate; theſe were, in his opinion, the two principal maxims to be purſued, and the moſt likely to ſecure the public tranquility againſt the riſe of all domeſtic troubles.

The natural inference from all this was, that Henry ſhould make immediate preparations for the execution of his great deſigns; ſince to defer them to an impotent old age, would be to hazard their ſucceſs: and accordingly, from this moment, his application to every thing which might contribute to them, increaſed every day. He now came oftener than ever to the Arſenal, and I was almoſt every morning and evening with him at the Louvre, where my coach was allowed to drive into the court. The king granted this privilege, which only two other dukes enjoyed beſides myſelf, to a conſideration of my indiſpoſition, which

informed of whatever was intended againſt the perſon of Henry IV. but that having uſed his utmoſt endeavours to prevail on that prince to exert his authority to fruſtrate ſuch deſigns, and finding that all the advice he had given Henry thereon, through his weakneſs, was always rejected, he was inwardly convinced this unhappy king could not avoid his cruel deſtiny: therefore, he determined not to encreaſe his apprehenſions without cauſe; but only to prevail on him, as ſoon as poſſible, to leave a city where he was expoſed to ſuch imminent dangers.

rendered

rendered walking on the ſtones very troubleſome to me: he having almoſt always occaſion for me to be with him, and, I believe, his friendſhip for me was another motive equally ſtrong. 1609.

He went on to make me draw up views and memorials, to form a complete cabinet of policy, and of the management of the finances; and that nothing might be wanting to the completion of his ſcheme, which he now laid fully before me, he ordered that I ſhould have a great deſk or cabinet, contrived full of drawers and holes, each with a lock and key, and all lined with crimſon ſattin, in ſuch number as to contain, in a regular diſpoſition, all the pieces that were to be there depoſited. The labour of this deſign was almoſt immenſe, tho' it does not appear ſuch at the firſt glance.

To give a notion of it without repetition, the reader muſt image to himſelf all that has any relation, either near or diſtant, to the revenue, to war, to the artillery, to naval power, to commerce, to policy, to money, to mines; in ſhort, to all parts of the government, either within the kingdom or without it, whether eccleſiaſtical or civil, whether exterior or domeſtic. Every one of theſe parts had its diſtinct allotment in this cabinet of ſtate, which was to be ſet in the great cloſet of books in the Louvre, furniſhed with all poſſible conveniencies, that all the pieces under each of theſe heads, how numerous ſoever they might be, ſhould appear at a ſingle glance. On the ſide appointed for the finances, was a collection of different regulations, memorials of operations, accounts of changes made or to be made, of ſums to be received and paid: a quantity, almoſt innumerable, of views, memoirs, of abſtracts and ſummaries, more or leſs compendious. All this is more eaſily imagined than repreſented. All the letters of any conſequence, which his majeſty had written to me, were there filed and numbered, with an index pointing out the contents of each.

As to military matters, beſides the accounts, liſts, and memoirs, which were to ſhew the preſent ſtate of the forces, there were all the regulations and papers of ſtate, books treating of the arrangement of armies, plans, charts, geographical and hydrographical, both of France and of different parts of the world. Theſe ſame charts, upon a larger ſcale, mixed with different pieces of painting, were to be placed in the great gallery. Upon this his majeſty and I conceived a thought of appointing a large room, with its firſt range to make a magazine of models,

1609. of whatever is moſt curious in machinery, relating to war, arts, trades, and all ſorts of exerciſes, noble, liberal, and mechanical; that all thoſe, who aſpired to perfection, might improve themſelves without trouble in this ſilent ſchool, the lower apartment was to hold the heavy pieces of workmanſhip, and the higher was to contain the lighter. An exact inventory of both was to be one of the pieces of the great cabinet *.

Among the pieces relating to the eccleſiaſtical government, the moſt curious were a liſt of all the benefices of the kingdom, with the qualifications which they required; and a view of all the eccleſiaſtical orders, ſecular and regular, from the higheſt prelate to the loweſt clergyman, with the diſtinction of natives and foreigners of both religions. This work was to be imitated in another relating to temporal government, in which the king was to ſee, to a ſingle man, the number of gentlemen throughout the kingdom, divided into claſſes, and ſpecified according to differences of title and eſtate. In this ſcheme the king had the more pleaſure, as he had, for a long time, formed the plan for a new order of knighthood, with an academy and hoſpital, only for the nobility; which inſtitution, however glorious and uſeful, would have been no expence either to the people or the revenue †. He had propoſed, at the ſame time, and with the ſame advantages, to eſtabliſh

* The death of Henry IV. put a total ſtop to the execution of all theſe deſigns, which deſerve all the praiſe that can be given them. It is alſo apparent, that however defective this ſtate-muſeum remained, it has, nevertheleſs, given birth to many noble and uſeful eſtabliſhments, which have done honour to ſucceeding miniſters. This book will furniſh many other ſubjects for this reflection. See what has been ſaid of this in the preface.

† This deſign of the duke of Sully admits of a further extenſion. It has long been a juſt cauſe of complaint, that the public method of educating youth in the colleges of France, and in every part of Europe, ſtill retains the barbarity of the moſt uncultivated times: the manner in which children are indiſcriminately brought up, ſeems intended to qualify them only for the prieſthood and the profeſſion of theology. Latin and Greek, a ſyſtem of rhetoric, fit only to deprave the taſte and pervert the mind: a courſe of philoſophy, which requires the application of two whole years to learn things ſo dry, tedious, and futile, that as much time would be neceſſary to drive them out of the mind, as were loſt in acquiring them, did not the manner and language, in which they are taught, themſelves produce that effect: a courſe of law, that follows, of ſtill greater length, and in which, with the ſame inconveniencies, the ground of the French law is what is leaſt taught. We ſee here in what particulars this method of education conſiſts; the unhappy conſequences of which are, that at a time when reading a number of good books, upon all ſubjects, ought to form a taſte for the arts and ſciences, and teach the principles of them, young men are not only held from making a progreſs, but ſent into the world, fraught with prejudices againſt all kind of literature,

a camp, or ſtanding body of ſix thouſand foot, a thouſand horſe, with ſix pieces of artillery completely fitted out: and, to keep the ſame proportion in the naval force, twelve ſhips, and as many gallies, were always to be kept ready for a voyage. 1609.

As ſchemes of improvement and reformation, in every reſpect, had one of the chief places in this cabinet, beſides the general plan by which Henry had contrived to change the face of all Europe, and which was laid out and particulariſed in the cleareſt and moſt extenſive manner, there were diſtinct projects upon all ſorts of ſubjects; in thoſe, for inſtance, that related to war, methods were laid down for preſerving an exact diſcipline, not only in time of actual war, but likewiſe in peace, by which the perſons of the trader, manufacturer, ſhepherd, huſbandman, would have been preſerved inviolable from the ſoldiers. Theſe four profeſſions, by which the ſtate may be truly ſaid

and full of diſguſt to all books, from having been tediouſly confined to ſo ſmall a number; a diſguſt which, in many inſtances, is never removed, or removed only ſo as to admit of reading, for mere amuſement, at an age in which the mind has abated of that vigour without which the matureſt judgment is only as an uſeleſs talent.

Would it, therefore, be impoſſible to ſuppreſs, at leaſt, one half of this prodigious number of Latin colleges, and convert the reſt into ſuch as are more adapted to the different profeſſions for which youth are intended? to dedicate the firſt years of infancy to the learning the principal duties of religion and virtue? to read, write, and account well? to remove children from hence to other colleges, where, along with a ſlight acquaintance with the learned languages, for thoſe who are not intended to make any great uſe of them, they ſhould be taught to ſpeak and write well in our own language, to familiariſe themſelves to its different ſtyles, the epiſtolary in particular; and to underſtand the languages of, at the leaſt, ſome of her neighbouring nations, with whom we have the moſt concern? to let theſe ſchools be ſucceeded by others, where the elements of the moſt neceſſary parts of mathematics, geography, and hiſtory, ſhould be taught? where tactics, politics, laws, and commerce, laid down in a clear and conciſe method, ſhould be made uſe of by the maſters, to diſcover the bent of their pupils genius? and by the pupils to determine them in the choice of ſuch ſtudies as they are moſt diſpoſed and attracted to by nature?

This ſhort view of the ſubject can ſcarcely be deemed more than a very rough ſketch of a better project. It, nevertheleſs, ſeems to me ſufficient to point out the road which ſhould be taken, to inſpire youth with a zeal for true glory, labour, and application, to prevent their falling into idleneſs and debauchery; and, in ſhort, to ſupply the ſtate with the moſt excellent ſubjects of every kind. We, every day, ſee inſtances, that the knowledge of this truth determines many parents to prefer a private and domeſtic education for their children to the public one of the colleges. One cannot find fault with them for this, notwithſtanding the advantages of the one over thoſe of the other are ſo conſpicuous. This conſideration makes it only more to be regretted, that public education has not yet been carried to that perfection, amongſt us, every one perceives it is capable of, and ought to be.

1609. to be ſupported, would have been completely ſecured from all outrages of the nobility, by other regulations there laid down, with relation to the domeſtic adminiſtration of government. The diſtinction of conditions, and the extent of the rights of each, was ſo exactly laid down, that none of them would have been able, for the future, either to break from their ſubordination, or make an ill uſe of their power. The deſign of the papers, relating to the clergy, was to engage all the eccleſiaſtics to make ſuch uſe as the canons require of revenues which, properly ſpeaking, are not their own; to forbid them to join together livings of the yearly value of ſix hundred livres, or to have any one that produced more than ten thouſand livres; upon the whole, to acquit themſelves worthily of their employments, and to conſider it as their firſt duty to ſet a good example.

I will not enter into more particulars, having had occaſion to treat of theſe ſubjects in different parts of theſe Memoirs *. I ſhall likewiſe refer the reader to all that he has ſeen, or ſhall ſee, in this book, upon the head of morality, and principles of juſt and wiſe governments, which had alſo their place in that collection. I cut off thus an account which I could have drawn to great length, becauſe how much ſoever I might have diffuſed it, I could never have ſhewn the whole; at leaſt not without tedioufneſs and trouble, which would have been the greater as the account would have contained nothing abſolutely new. Among other memorials relating to the finances, there was one upon the methods of raiſing money, which ought to be diſtinguiſhed from the other

* This kind of ſilent ſchool for the finances, war, commerce, &c. appears to me ſo happily contrived, that, in reality, I ſee no bounds to the extenſion of the utility of it. What is the reaſon thoſe, who are employed in the adminiſtration of the different affairs of the government, are continually falling into ſo many miſtakes? Becauſe there being no poſitive rules, no written principles, they can conſult, or whence they can either draw the information they ought to have, or correct their own ideas; they generally go on as chance conducts them, and often wander from the proper road. From hence, in every reſpect, it happens, we arrive ſo late at the intended point, and that very often we miſs it intirely. No body or community can ſubſiſt for two or three ages only, without the help of ſome fundamental rules of conduct, which can, on every emergency, be reſorted to by thoſe who have the direction of it. How then can the ſtate, which comprehends all leſſer communities, be conducted without them? How otherways can thoſe, who ſucceed in poſts and employments, form any judgment, whether different circumſtances require any alteration in the principles by which their predeceſſors were guided? For want of ſuch rules, ſuch permanent laws, many uſeful projects, which could not be carried into execution at the time of their invention, have periſhed with their inventors; and many bad ones, adopted by raſhneſs and ignorance, have been perpetuated.

pieces

pieces that are paſſed over without mention. By this ſcheme a hundred millions might be raiſed in three or four years. The only caution which I recommended, was not to make uſe of it without neceſſity; and to begin by the moſt eaſy and gentle, of the different ways there mentioned. They were laid down in the order which I ſhall here give them, tho' this is only a mere epitome of the plan *. 1609.

A NEW regulation was to be made with regard to the preſidents of ports and havens, the officers of the Crown Lands and Traites Forains, the tolls of rivers, and the cuſtoms paid at their mouths; with a new valuation of theſe claims, and a new creation of officers for the collection. Another regulation reſpected the maſters that bought and ſold cattle, wine, and other liquors, fiſh, freſh and ſalt, wood, hay, and other proviſions. Another related to the poſts, in which were comprehended the poſt-maſters and comptrollers, the maſters of the king's ſtables, the couriers, bankers, and their commiſſioners, the ſtage-coaches †, the foot and horſe meſſengers, and all carriages by land and water. When I read this article to the king, he ſaid, "I commend "you to La-Varenne, and all the people of the ſtable: I will ſend "them all to you." Another ſcheme related to the markers of leather, the gaugers, the keepers of coffee-houſes, the retailers, commiſſaries, aſſeſſors, and collectors, the keepers of lodgings to lett, and many others. "Right, ſays Henry, you muſt do all this for us; for not a "day paſſes but I am teized to make a grant of ſome or other of theſe." Another was upon the fourth and eighth aids, the entry and exportation of goods, whether from city to city, or from province to province; a creation of new officers for the magazines of ſalt, with an augmentation of taxes paid by them and by retailers; an augmentation of a crown upon every minot of ſalt, and other regulations reſpecting both the ſalt-works, and the ſale of the ſalt which is got from them. "This, ſays Henry, I ſhould like well; but you muſt begin with your "own government, or elſe we ſhall have great clamour." The parties caſuelles, and the droit annuel ‡. The ſecretaries of the king were to be augmented to ſixteen. A tax was to be raiſed upon ſalt, in the

* There is another ſtate of this account in Sully's Memoirs. Vol. IV. p. 99. I have reduced both theſe into one.

† Poſt-horſes and ſtage-coaches were firſt ſet up in the reign of Henry IV.

‡ This is the firſt and only time the *droit annuel* is mentioned in theſe Memoirs. This is the more ſurpriſing, becauſe this law, by which offices of juſtice, made ſaleable in the reign of Francis I. are made hereditary, was eſtabliſhed under Henry IV. and therefore M. Sully was probably the principal author of it; and becauſe when the edict for its eſtabliſhment was made, nothing

form

1609. form of the taille, to make a fund appointed for the wages of the different officers, fovereign, and fubaltern, particularly of the courts of juſtice: another reſpected the offices of lieutenants, comptrollers, and treaſurers, as well general as provincial, to be dignified with new titles, and ſet over the artillery, bridges, and cauſeways: another ſcheme reſpected the employments of bailiwicks, elections, and magazines of ſalt, to encreaſe them by new grants of wages and privileges, out of the money raiſed

was heard but murmurs and complaints; that the purchaſe of thoſe offices being, by means of this new law, raiſed to an exorbitant price, the nobility and people of merit would be totally excluded from them, and they could, for the future, fall to the ſhare only of monied men; whereby the vexations, in the adminiſtring juſtice, would be encreaſed, inſtead of being diminiſhed.

Cardinal Richelieu, convinced by the good reaſons M. de Sully had for acting thus, and which he had from that miniſter's own mouth, employs the firſt ſection of the chapter of his Political Teſtament, part I. to prove that neither the ſale or inheritance of offices of juſtice ought to be aboliſhed in this kingdom. "The "late king, ſays he, by the advice of a "very good council, in the time of a "profound peace, and in a reign free "from want, added the eſtabliſhment "of the right of inheriting of offices of "juſtice to the right of ſelling them. It "is not to be preſumed he would have "taken this ſtep, without a mature con-"ſideration, and without foreſeeing, as far "as human prudence is able, the conſe-"quences and effects of it. Nothing "contributed ſo much to enable the duke "of Guiſe to render himſelf powerful in "the league, againſt the king and ſtate, "as the great number of officers he had, "by his intereſt, brought into the princi-"pal poſts of the kingdom. I have been "told, by the duke of Sully, that this "conſideration was one of the chief mo-"tives with the king for eſtabliſhing the "*droit annuel*, &c."

After this, the cardinal de Richelieu maintains, that it is better thoſe offices ſhould be bought, than given to poor and indigent people, or be carried off by ambition and intereſt. "Inſtead, ſays he, of "opening the door to virtue, it would be "opened to cabals and factions, and the "great offices would be filled with officers "of low extraction, often better ſtocked "with Latin than riches—Low birth ſel-"dom produces in men the qualifications "neceſſary to form a great magiſtrate— "Wealth is a great ornament to dignities, "and they are ſo much heightened by ex-"terior luſtre, that one may boldly ſay, "That of two perſons of equal merit, "the preference ought to be given to him "who is in the moſt affluent circum-"ſtances: beſides, the fear of loſing all "he is worth, will be no ſmall reſtraint "againſt miſbehaviour to an officer, who "has engaged the greateſt part of his eſtate "in the purchaſe of his office.——If," ſays he further, "offices could be ob-"tained without money, commerce would "be abandoned by many, who, dazzled "with the ſplendor of dignities, would "rather puſh themſelves into offices at the "expence of being ruined, than acquire "wealth for their families by employing "themſelves in commerce."

He proves the particular uſefulneſs of the *droit annuel*, from the conſideration, that without it, all the old officers would reſign their offices, "When experience, and the "ripeneſs of age, had made them moſt "capable of ſerving the public." He ought, I think, to have added this further reaſon, That a young man who is intended for the enjoyment of one of thoſe poſts, will receive from his parents an education ſuitable to that ſtation of life they know he is deſigned to fill. The advice wherewith our author finiſhes this article, is to fix the value of theſe offices at a moderate price, "Which ſhould not exceed, ſays he, the

upon

upon the taille, even to five ſous in the livre. To eſtabliſh new elections in Guyenne, Languedoc, Brittany, and Burgundy: the king foreſaw that, in theſe provinces, there would be much murmuring. New treaſurers were to be created in the offices of the finances, two at Sens and at Cahors, ſix in Brittany, and three elſewhere. Henry ſaid, that the number of theſe harpies ſhould be rather leſſened than encreaſed. 1609.

I PROPOSED to create, in times of neceſſity, ſtill a much greater number of offices among the treaſurers, payers of rents and wages, receivers, and other officers of the tailles, ſecretaries, and under-officers of the greater and little chancery, as well as to make new grants to the offices already in being: to appoint two principal commiſſioners over all the offices in the revenue. To particularize all this would take up too much room. The virtue of the king repreſenting to him, what was yet a mere project, as already put in execution, made him cry out againſt ſuch a number of regulations, with which I agreed with him, that the people were not to be charged, but in caſe of great neceſſity.

To make an end, it was propoſed, that ſovereign courts ſhould be erected in different cities, ſuch as a parliament, chamber of accounts, and court of aids, at Lyons and Poitiers, ſuppreſſing the court of aids at Montferrand. As it was propoſed that the aids ſhould be extended

" half of what, from the extravagant hu-
" mour of the people, is now given for
" them." He does juſtice to Henry IV. on this head: " The late king, ſays he,
" foreſeeing this evil, had inſerted in the
" edict he made on this ſubject, clauſes
" able to prevent it; not only excepting
" from the *droit annuel* the offices of the
" chief-preſidents, and the ſolicitors and
" attorneys-general; but moreover reſerv-
" ing to himſelf the power to diſpoſe of
" thoſe offices which are ſubject to it,
" when vacant, on paying previouſly to
" the heirs of the poſſeſſors of them the
" price at which they ſhould be valued.
" The miſchiefs which the *droit annuel* at
" preſent occaſions, do not proceed ſo
" much from any faults in the nature of it,
" as from the reſtrictions this great prince
" had ſubjected it to, having been impru-
" dently taken off. If the edict had con-
" tinued in the purity of its original inſti-
" tution, the value of offices would never
" have riſen to that exceſſive height it
" now is at. It is, therefore, only neceſ-
" ſary to reduce the edict for the *droit an-*
" *nuel*, to the bounds of its firſt form."

Theſe words fully juſtify the duke of Sully, againſt all the imputations that have been caſt on him, on account of the counſel he gave Henry IV. touching the famous edict of the *droit annuel*. By virtue of this edict, the officers of juſtice were compelled to pay the ſixtieth part of the produce of their offices, which continued to be done every ninth year till 1709, when they were obliged to buy off this charge. See le Journal de L'Etoile, anno 1605, when this edict was made, De Thou, Mezerai, &c. The exceſſive number of the officers of juſtice, &c is the principal and the true cauſe of all the other miſchiefs men of ſenſe find to ariſe from this edict.

1609. to Brittany, a court of aids was to be created there, another at Bourdeaux, with a chamber of accounts, a third in Burgundy, and a fourth in Provence. At this the king ſhook his head, and ſaid not a word. I ſhall not repeat here what I have already ſaid in many parts of theſe Memoirs. The averſion which I have ſhewn, with regard to whatever is ſtiled luxury, will make it thought, that all mad and ſuperfluous expences were heavily taxed, and ſo indeed they were; and I ſhall honeſtly declare, that if my credit had been ſufficient, beſides cutting off a great part of thoſe expences, which are inconſiſtent with the preſſing neceſſities of the ſtate, I ſhould have ſuppreſſed, likewiſe, coaches and other inventions of luxury, except in ſuch conditions of life as ſhould have gratified their vanity at a high price.

If it is neceſſary to lay this check upon luxury, of which the contagion has ſeized inſenſibly on all parts of the community, it is yet of more importance to ſtop its fatal conſequences in thoſe to whom it is not merely an occaſion of negligence and ſoftneſs, but a cauſe of corruption and ruin of families. Againſt this, proviſion was made by another ſcheme, placed likewiſe among the pieces of the cabinet of ſtate; nor was it one of the leaſt misfortunes occaſioned by the untimely death of the king, that it buried in the grave with him ſo many uſeful deſigns at the moment of their birth.

According to another regulation, an edict would have paſſed to oblige the advocates and attornies-general of the parliament to proſecute and puniſh, in an exemplary manner, all thoſe, who, by the example of their diſſoluteneſs and prodigality, injured the public, themſelves, or other people; and to this they were bound, under penalty of anſwering themſelves, for all the diſorders which their negligence or connivance might produce. The way by which this was to be put in their power, without rendering their offices burthenſome beyond meaſure, was to join with them, in every juriſdiction, three perſons publicly appointed under the title of cenſors or reformers, choſen from three years to three years in a public aſſembly, and authoriſed by their office, to which was joined every kind of exemption, not only to lay before the judges informations againſt all fathers, or children of families guilty of diſhonourable diſſoluteneſs, and of ſuperfluous expences, to a degree beyond their fortune; but likewiſe to force the judges themſelves to puniſh theſe exceſſes in the manner preſcribed: or, on failure, to call them to an account, as partners of the crime. Every proſecution was to be preceded by two warnings; but, at the third, an action was iſſued

issued out, by which the person accused was put under tutorage, and saw the management of his affairs consigned to other hands, who were to leave him only two thirds of his revenue, and apply the other part to the payment of his debts, and for the repairs of his estate: and this was to last till evident tokens were given of a real reformation, and a return to a more reasonable way of thinking and acting. From this law no condition was excepted; and it is likely that no member of the community would have escaped this judicature, because it was itself answerable to a higher tribunal, and even the officers were fixed down to their duty by the dread of punishment equivalent to disgrace. 1609.

It would have been decreed, at the same time, to destroy this mischief in its original, that no person, of whatever quality or condition, should be allowed to borrow a sum, which, compared with his estate, could be deemed considerable; and that no other should lend it him, on pain of losing it, unless it was, at the same time, declared in a contract or obligation, to what use the money so borrowed should be employed; what debts the borrower already had; to what persons, upon what security, and what revenue was still left him; as well to secure the debt as to maintain his family. With the same intention every father of a family, and every person who acted in the character of a father, were forbidden to give to one of their children, at settling them in the world, a larger fortune than justice allowed, upon a due consideration of their present means, and of the number of their children born or likely to be born, excepting only, that the authority of a father was secured, by allowing him to punish a vicious or unnatural son. But even in this case the offence was to be clearly proved, and this arbitrary disposition was to extend only to moveable goods, or their own acquisition *.

* These schemes of reformation bear such strong marks of the duke of Sully's genius and character, that it is unnecessary for him to name himself as the author of them. Without derogating from the merit of the gravity and austerity of his morals, and agreeing with him that it is of the utmost importance to prevent the corruption of manners, and the total decay of honour, I must, nevertheless, own, that his designs of reformation in the police, seem to me subject to the same defects with those of his party in the reformation of religion; that is, that they are ill founded and romantic.

That a few should be ruined by their own misconduct and folly may, in a moral view, appear a considerable evil; but politically will be little or none; since, in reality, the public is no sufferer by it; that which impoverishes some, enriching others. I only make an exception of the cases of bankruptcies. I refer, besides these, to the observations I have already made, to prove that this mischief is inevitable, in a nation of great extent, abounding in riches, and supported by an universal commerce.

Therefore the best that can be done in this respect, is to confer on the ministers of religion, the exercise of that censorial

1609. This regulation of domeſtic œconomy was but a piece of the general regulation with reſpect to the whole, and principally with reſpect to trials of cauſes, of which, I believe, the reader will be pleaſed with an account; for the intereſt which every one has in ſeeing the innumerable abuſes of the courts amended, is great, general, and univerſally known. The deſign of Henry was to impart it, at firſt, to the preſidents of the different courts of juſtice, and the king's council in the parliaments; not to be diſputed, but that they might give intelligence, and advice upon the ſuppoſition, that, concurring in the ſame deſign, they might diſcover ſomething uſeful for the contraction of proceſſes, and the deſtruction of the deſpicable art of chicanery. When theſe articles of regulation had been finally drawn up, according to the opinions which were thought beſt, his majeſty was reſolved to bring them into parliament, written with his own hand, to have them regiſtered. The reader has already ſeen thoſe which we had previouſly drawn up, which would probably have paſſed with little alteration.

In all ſuits between relations, counted nearly according to the canonical degrees of conſanguinity and affinity, as well temporal as ſpiritual, the plaintiff was obliged, in the firſt place, to make an offer, from which he was not to depart, of referring all the differences to the arbitration of four perſons, two choſen by each party, among their friends or relations; to name theſe two arbitrators on the ſpot, and to ſet down, in diſtinct articles, ſigned with his own hand, all his pretenſions and demands, to which he was not allowed to make any additions.

office the author has endeavoured to re-eſtabliſh on the plan of the old Roman cenſure. Were I to make any uſe of this idea for creating new public officers, it would be by applying it, as the author afterwards does, to the courts of juſtice, and the bar.

I leave it to the examination of men of a diſcerning and extenſive genius, how far it would be practicable to accuſtom the people of this kingdom to refer their differences and diſputes to the deciſion of a ſmall number of grave and reverend old men, choſen on account of their abilities, and the reputation of their integrity, to perform the office of arbitrators in all the cities, towns, and other conſiderable places; and who would execute that office in ſuch a manner, that honour, diſtinction, veneration, the public reſpect, and, at the moſt, ſuch advantages as the ſovereign could, without expence to any one, add to theſe, ſhould be to them in lieu of all profit and recompence. Examples are not wanting; nay it is even common to ſee perſons whom the ſole conſideration of the intereſt of poor men ſinking under the weight of the ruinous proceedings of law, induces to take on them this charitable office, and to exerciſe it without fee or reward. Happy are thoſe who have ſuch a mediator among them! The reſpect and love, attendant on this employment, cauſe many to embrace it with joy, and amply repays them for the labour they undergo in executing it.

The

The ſame thing was to be done by the defendant, who had only a month allowed him to name his arbitrators. In another month the arbitrators were to be in poſſeſſion of all the proofs and writings of both parties; another month was allowed the arbitrators to pronounce judgment; and a month after that was allowed to a ſuperior arbitrator, to determine thoſe points on which the voices had been equally divided: for all other points were to be conſidered as determined, and came not under the cogniſance of the ſuperior arbitrator. The ſame regulation took place with the judges: they could not call back the main cauſe before them, nor make any enquiry into the fundamental queſtion; but only give ſentence according to judgment, good or bad, of the arbitrators upon the pieces laid before them. The ſovereign courts had, in this reſpect, no higher privileges than ordinary juriſdictions: they could neither appoint a new inquiry, nor receive new proofs; and they were allowed only a month or ſix weeks to make a decree, which, if they exceeded that time, became void, and the judges themſelves were condemned to pay the loſſes and damages of both parties. 1609.

The notaries were declared principal and competent judges of all contracts, tranſactions, obligations, transfers, grants, exchanges, ſales, and leaſes; ſo that the opinion given by them, upon the ſenſe of any contract brought before them, was proviſionally eſtabliſhed, notwithſtanding any oppoſition or appeal; and the ſuperior judges could not proceed, upon that ſentence, in any other manner than as upon the ſentence of a court of eſtabliſhed judicature. The precaution, by which the knavery of the notaries was obviated, was, that firſt every act muſt have paſſed in the preſence of two notaries, or of one notary, and two witneſſes; in the ſecond place, the contracting parties were obliged to bring each of them an advocate to the aſſiſtance of the notaries, whoſe advice the notaries were to take, and ſet down their names in the deciſions. This act, and the ſentence thus paſt, would never afterwards be falſified, if it was for a ſum exceeding a hundred livres.

The ſummons could not be brought before any other judge than that of the defendant, and, as I have ſaid, it was to contain all the claims of the plaintiff, in a manner ſo general, that, after that, nothing was to be done beſides making an anſwer to the allegations of the defendant, under a penalty upon the judges, advocates, and ſolicitors. Theſe advocates and ſolicitors were immediately to put the cauſe into ſuch a ſtate, that it might be determined; and till it was in ſuch a ſtate, they

1609. they were forbidden to plead it, or bring it into court. The moſt conſiderable cauſes, thoſe in which they were to be many writings and much evidence, could not be delayed more than three months; and here, as in all other bills of importance, bills of review were not allowed, and the only recourſe was to letters patents diſpatched in the council of ſtate, and ſealed with the great ſeal.

This regulation extended, in its particulars, to every ſingle point of law, or cuſtom that required to be rectified; ſuch as the rules, which are already made mention of, upon the bad œconomy of the inhabitants, upon the common right of poſſeſſion between huſband and wife, and others, which I do not mention, with reſpect to perquiſites, ſalaries, vacations, and other charges; as well as of the different ſubterfuges of chicanery, and all the abuſes of the courts of juſtice; with reſpect to pleaders and writers, and many other things, of which every body hears loud complaints. The king could find nothing better to be done, than to refer all thoſe particulars to the diſcretion and regulation of twelve men, picked out from amongſt thoſe who had moſt knowledge of buſineſs, and were men of the greateſt wiſdom and equity, who were to purſue the deſign in the following method: They were to write down, in the form of a memorial, all the formalities, generally abſurd, without omitting any: in the next place, thoſe which they thought the public good required to be left out: and laſtly, that which they thought beſt to ſubſtitute in their place. This work being ſo far finiſhed, was to be expoſed to a careful examination of three of the king's principal miniſters and counſellors, who were to give their opinion about it; after which the king was likewiſe to declare his ſentiments, and to give it all the authority neceſſary to make the future practices of the courts invariable and uniform.

When we had once begun to compoſe this general inventory of ſtate, it became one of our moſt uſual ſubjects of converſation, and the king appeared extremely impatient to have it made perfect. He ſent one of the pages of his chamber for me one morning, when the weather was exceſſive hot; for, I think, it was in the month of June. I went directly to his cloſet; but I found he had juſt left it, and was already in the Tuilleries. I could not overtake him till he was got as far as the terrace, belonging to the capuchin friars, near a little door, through which he entered their chapel to hear maſs. As ſoon as he ſaw me, at a diſtance followed by that croud of clients who ſeem to gueſs every place where miniſters are likely to be; "Go, ſaid he, and tell the capuchins, that "they

" they muſt delay maſs a little; for I muſt confer with M. de Sully, 1609.
" who is not a good maſs-man: if he would take my advice as to that
" affair, I ſhould love him ſtill more than I do, and there is nothing
" which he might not expect from my friendſhip: however, ſuch as
" he is, I have a tender affection for him, and receive great advan-
" tages from his ſervices." His majeſty then took my hand, which he held in his; and during two hours that we walked together, he talked to me only of ſome new memorials, which he aſked me for, to add to his cabinet of ſtate. At parting, he bid me aloud to be as exact and diligent as poſſible in this work. " Let there be few words, ſaid
" he, and much matter. However, all muſt be plain and clear; for
" I would communicate ſome part of it to two or three of my ſervants,
" whoſe names I will tell you." I replied, that his majeſty muſt give me a little time to execute this taſk, ſince he required method, brevity, and clearneſs at once. " Do it then as ſoon as you can, ſaid
" Henry; you know my ſtyle, and I know yours; they agree well
" together."

I SENT a meſſage to the chancellor, to let him know that I ſhould not go to the council, and I ſhut myſelf up all the reſt of that day, and part of the night, looking over books and papers; nor did I even ſit down to ſupper. At ſeven o'clock, the next morning, the king came to the arſenal, attended by thoſe perſons whom he had mentioned to me the day before. Theſe were Meſſieurs d'Ornano, de Boëſſe, Du-Bourg, de Liſle, de St. André, de Montpelier, de Pilles, de Fortia, de St. Canard, de La-Buiſſe, de La-Vieuville. There were likewiſe Meſſieurs de Vitry, de Vic, de Néreſtan, de St. Géran, La-Varenne, D'Eſcures, Erard, and Châtillon, engineers, (for part of ſome affairs, relating to their profeſſion, made the buſineſs) Bethune, my couſin; and, laſtly, ſome foreigners, ſent by Leſdiguieres and the duke of Bouillon, and another, named Pucharnault, from La-Force. My cloſet was almoſt full. I had not been able to draw up the memorial in queſtion, and the reaſon I gave his majeſty for it, who had aſked for it immediately, was, that I had received ſome diſpatches from La-Force, concerning a new diſturbance raiſed by the Spaniards in Bearn, and the Lower Navarre, which it was neceſſary to anſwer immediately. I likewiſe writ to him, ſaid I, about my nephew, and my niece Biron, whom they want to get divorced, which will be a fine piece of work; for ſhe believes ſhe is with child; and ſhe really is ſo.
" This, replied his majeſty, is one of the ſtrangeſt caſes I ever knew,
" and the moſt ridiculous: I am deceived if ever you will be able to
" bring

1609. "bring these people to reason." "Finish your dispatches," added this prince, after telling me, in a low voice, something he had to communicate to me, "and finish likewise our papers as soon as possible, and "do not go to the council to-day." "That cannot be, Sire, I replied; "for some affairs of consequence are to be laid before it, which were "not examined yesterday on account of my absence." "Well, do the "best you can, said he, and adieu; for I am going to the Tuilleries."

I laboured with so much industry at the memorial, that it was ready the next morning, when his majesty again sent for me to the Tuilleries. I gave my secretary these papers to carry, inclosed in a loose sheet of paper, and sealed. I found Sillery and Villeroi with the king, and we all four continued to walk, during almost two hours, discoursing upon the scheme of these memorials, with so much heat and action, that it was easily perceived by those at a distance, that we did not agree in our opinions. I was going away without taking notice of my packet to the king, when he called me back, and asked me for it. I shewed it to him in my secretary's hands, whom I afterwards ordered to present it to his majesty when he had an inclination to read it: but to take care that he brought it back with him sealed again, in the same manner it was now. What had passed in our conversation made it necessary for me to use this precaution, which my secretary afterwards excused himself for to Henry, by alledging the positive commands I had given him. He followed the king, who went to the capuchins to hear mass, and took this opportunity to go to breakfast; for it would not have been easy to have found another. The king seeing him when he came from mass, "Follow me, said he, to the Louvre, and do not go "away from thence till I have spoken to you." As soon as he came to his closet, he asked him for the packet. My secretary then told him the orders I had given him. "Well, said his majesty, be it so: but, "again I tell you, do not leave the Louvre." He then went into his library to leave the packet there while he dined. The court was not very full, because it was later than usual. The king hardly spoke to any one, and appeared to be in deep thought, often striking his knife upon his plate.

My secretary believed he was going to be dismissed, when he saw the king rise from table and return to his closet, and heard himself called for about half an hour afterwards: but some princes and lords of the court coming in that moment, with whom his majesty seemed to have entered into conversation, he withdrew into a corner with La Varenne

renne and Béringhen. The place where they ſtood was very dark, ſo that it was not eaſy to perceive them, eſpecially if they took a little care to conceal themſelves, which they did, tho' without any deſign. Some minutes afterwards they ſaw Henry advance, with two or three of the company whom he had ſeparated from the reſt, and came ſo near them that they could hear what he ſaid, although he did not ſpeak very loud; they redoubled their attention, and they heard him ſay theſe words: "I am fatigued with walking ſo long this morning; "for I have been converſing more than two hours, upon matters of "great importance, with three men whom I have found as contrary in "their opinions, as they are in their tempers and inclinations. Any "other than myſelf, perhaps, would find it difficult to employ them; "but I am ſo well acquainted with their whims, that I even draw ad- "vantages from their debates and oppoſition, which ſerves to make all "affairs they are engaged in ſo plain and clear, that it is eaſy for me to "chuſe that method which appears to be beſt. You know them well "enough without my naming them." 1609.

His majeſty continued to draw the pictures of his three miniſters in the following manner. I ſhall be candid enough not to make the leaſt alteration in his words, even where myſelf was concerned, and it was with me that he began. "Some perſons, ſaid Henry, complain, and, "indeed, I do myſelf ſometimes, of his temper; they ſay he is harſh, "impatient, and obſtinate; he is accuſed of having too enterpriſing a "mind, of preſuming too much upon his own opinions, exaggerating "the worth of his own actions, and leſſening that of others; as like- "wiſe of eagerly aſpiring after honours and riches. Now, although "I am well convinced that part of theſe imputations are true, and that "I am obliged to keep a high hand over him, when he offends me "with thoſe ſallies of ill humour, yet I cannot ceaſe to love him, "eſteem him, and employ him, in all affairs of conſequence; becauſe "I am very ſure, that he loves my perſon, that he takes an intereſt in "my preſervation, and that he is ardently ſolicitous for the honour, the "glory, and grandeur of me and my kingdom. I know alſo that he "has no malignity in his heart, that he is indefatigable in buſineſs, and "fruitful in expedients; that he is a careful manager of my revenue, "a man laborious and diligent, who endeavours to be ignorant of no- "thing, and to render himſelf capable of conducting all affairs, whe- "ther of peace or war; who writes and ſpeaks in a ſtyle that pleaſes "me, becauſe it is, at once, that of a ſoldier and ſtateſman. In a "word, I confeſs to you, that, notwithſtanding all his extravagancies,

"and

1609. " and little tranſports of paſſion, I find no one ſo capable as he is of " conſoling me under every uneaſineſs." I ſhall not here expatiate upon the praiſe or blame which is conveyed in theſe words; but candidly confeſs, that both the one and the other I may deſerve. The part of an honeſt man, upon ſuch an occaſion, is to profit of both, that he may daily rectify his heart and his manners.

" The ſecond," purſued Henry, ſpeaking of the chancellor Sillery, " is of a compliant diſpoſition, not eaſily offended, wonderfully inſi- " nuating in his behaviour, and cautious in his actions; he has a good " underſtanding, is well verſed in ſcience, and the buſineſs of his " profeſſion; nor is he ignorant of others: he ſpeaks well, with " method, and clearneſs; he is not capable of forming any black de- " ſigns againſt others; yet he is extremely ſolicitous to accumulate " wealth and titles: he is never without news or perſons in his pay, to " make diſcoveries for him: he is not of a humour to hazard, lightly, " either his perſon or fortune for others. His virtues and his faults " being thus ballanced, it is eaſy for me to uſe the former advantage- " ouſly for myſelf, and guard againſt the bad conſeqences of the " latter *.

" As to the third," continuing the king, ſpeaking of Villeroi, " he " has been long practiſed in buſineſs; is thoroughly acquainted with " the tranſactions of his own times: he has, from his earlieſt youth, " been employed in ſtate affairs more than the two others: he obſerves " great order and regularity in the execution of his office, and judg- " ment in diſtributing thoſe papers which belong to his employment: " he is generous, and his abilities appear by his modeſty and ſilence, " and his reluctance to ſpeak in public †; yet he is obſtinate, and " cannot bear to have his opinions contradicted, which, he thinks,

* This chancellor did the ſtate three ſignal ſervices; by employing part of his wealth in retaining the Swiſs in our alliance; at the peace of Vervins; and in negotiating the king's marriage. " The " chancellor de Sillery was a man of no " learning. Henry IV. uſed to ſay of him, " and the conſtable, Henry de Montmo- " rency, that with his chancellor, who " did not underſtand Latin, and his con- " ſtable, who could neither read nor write, " he could execute the moſt difficult af- " fairs." Amelot de La-Houſſaye, note 1. on the 195th letter of cardinal D'Oſſat.

† Of all the places in theſe Memoirs, where M. de Villeroi is mentioned, we ought to fix on this as the principal one, to give us a proper inſight into the character of that miniſter, and chiefly from the opinion Henry IV. had of it. One ſingle original account, like this, deſerves more credit than all uncertain reports, or ſuch as are dictated by prejudice, averſion, or a ſpirit of party.

" ought

"ought to ſerve for good reaſons: yet he will temporiſe a while, 1609.
"and wait with patience till the faults of others have proved him to
"be in the right, which I have ſometimes found my advantage in."
This diſcourſe of his majeſty was addreſſed to perſons of the firſt quality, who although they had probably inclination enough to anſwer it, yet continued ſilent: and the king, ſome moments afterwards, perceiving my ſecretary, ordered my papers to be given him, which he brought back to me ſealed, as I had deſired.

Before we leave theſe general affairs of the finances, it is neceſſary to ſee what there is particular on this article for the preſent year. Denis Feydeau and his aſſociates had got the general farm of the aids adjudged to themſelves, by offering two hundred thouſand livres a-year more than the former farmers. I foreſaw, what really happened, that Feydeau would not be able to get in his money. Accordingly he preſented a petition to his majeſty, praying to be diſcharged of theſe two hundred thouſand livres. I thought theſe farmers ſuffered no more than what they juſtly deſerved, ſince no unforeſeen accident had happened, nor had any obſtacle been raiſed to their quiet poſſeſſion: and what encreaſed my anger was, that the imprudence of theſe new-comers had deprived us of farmers, who were able to pay, to ſubſtitute others in their room who were inſolvent. However, I prevailed upon his majeſty to agree to this diminution under the title of a grant, without which they would be expoſed to a bankruptcy, and the additional trouble of ſetting the aids again to ſale. I judged only, that it ought not to take place till the 1ſt of January 1610, or, at leaſt, till the 1ſt of October this year, that his majeſty might not loſe, all at once, the ſum of four hundred thouſand francs.

I caused Ferrand, firſt ſerjeant of the chamber of accounts of Paris, to be proſecuted. He was deprived of all the offices and commiſſions he exerciſed in this court, which his majeſty, even before judgment was given, beſtowed upon La-Font, who has been mentioned in theſe Memoirs: he was already intendant, and the king, as a farther reward for his fidelity, made him a preſent of the furniture of the conciergerie. M. the count of Soiſſons, and the other officers of the king's houſhold, preſented likewiſe a petition againſt the treaſurer Pajot, which was ſent to me. Puget, another treaſurer of the exchequer, having, the year before, by the orders of his majeſty, given a favourable declaration for Placin, formerly his clerk, which the king was guaranty for, and was depoſited in my hands, his majeſty wrote to

1609. me to give this paper to Puget, as he himſelf had engaged ſhould be done, in caſe the ſuit, which was between theſe two financiers, could not be terminated without it.

His majeſty, after firſt aſking my advice, ordered a brevet to be granted to Mortier Choiſy, by which he was declared releaſed from the reſidue of his farm for fifty thouſand livres; half to be paid immediately, and the other half in ſix months. He likewiſe ordered to be delivered to Zamet the acquittances of the two offices of arrears in Normandy, amounting to five thouſand crowns, with the writings neceſſary for the payment, likewiſe of the ſum of forty-nine thouſand nine hundred and odd livres, for which he had given an aſſignment, the laſt year, upon the two ſols and ſix deniers upon each meaſure of ſalt for a like ſum, which Zamet had advanced him. Henry likewiſe gave twelve thouſand livres to Montigny, ſix thouſand to D'Eſcures, and two thouſand four hundred livres to different penſionaries in Burgundy, which were delivered to them by M. Le-Grand, and paid the preſident Tambonneau his penſion for the laſt year. Theſe circumſtances I collect from letters his majeſty writ to me with his own hand.

I received alſo ſome letters from the queen, one of which related to her releaſing certain rights which had been made over to her, and were charged on lands belonging to queen Margaret, to whom they had been granted by brevet. In another ſhe deſired that I would pay the wife of Conchini twenty thouſand crowns, which the king, to oblige the queen, had given her upon the preſidents eſtabliſhed in the office of finances. Leonora, having ſo great intereſt in the affair, had performed her part ſo well, that the money, as the queen told me, was ready to be paid.

The ſums, the principal ones at leaſt, which I carried to the account of Henry's private expences, are, firſt, twenty-two thouſand piſtoles, which on the 18th of January, he ſent to tell me that he had loſt at play; a hundred thouſand livres at one time, and fifty-one thouſand at another, which he loſt likewiſe at play to Edouard Fernandes, a Portugueſe. He ordered me to take up this laſt ſum, of fifty-one thouſand livres, upon ſixty thouſand which was to return to him upon the office of advocate-general at Rouen, after the death of Marguerit, to whoſe children he gave the nine thouſand remaining, in conſideration of the good ſervice he had received from their father in this parliament, and he gave the office to Des-Yveteaux, a relation of the deceaſed; for play a thouſand

Nicholas Vauquelin Des-Yveteaux.

ſand piſtoles more. Henry, at firſt, ſent only for five hundred; but Beringhen came afterwards for the other five hundred. I carried him a thouſand piſtoles for play likewiſe, when I went with the chancellor to wait on him at Fontainebleau, where he was taking phyſic after the Eaſter holidays: my journey thither was occaſioned by ſome diſpatches which Préaux had brought from Jeannin. The king, beginning to reflect more ſeriouſly upon the exceſs to which he carried his paſſion for play, became ſenſible of the neceſſity there was to correct it, and often afterwards promiſed me that he would moderate it, if he could do no more. He continued to lay out great ſums upon buildings, and ſent Zamet * from Fontainebleau to inſpect them, when he could not go himſelf. I find likewiſe, in my accounts for this year, an acquittance from Marcadé for four thouſand ſeven hundred and forty livres, for eleven hundred and ſixteen pearls which Henry had made a preſent of to Mademoiſelle de Vendôme, his daughter; another of three thouſand to Mademoiſelle Des Eſſarts: and another of three hundred livres to Saubion, her ſervant. 1609.

The chancellor and I were directed to name commiſſioners to treat with thoſe of the duke of Lorrain, about ſettling the limits of the country of Meſſin, which every day gave riſe to ſome new conteſts. I ſent the comptroller of the fortifications to Calais, with a ſum of money to repair the damage which had been lately done by the ſea to the Riſbank. I was informed of it by vice admiral De-Vic, who could have wiſhed that the government had been at a more conſiderable expence for this town, and who formed ſeveral ſchemes, as well for its conveniency and ſecurity, as to prevent the inundations to which this place and the neighbouring parts were expoſed.

There never was a more uſeful law made, than that which appeared this year againſt the fraudulent bankrupts: it declared, that ſuch bankrupts ſhould be puniſhed with death, as being robbers of the public; that all donations, grants, ſales, and aſſignments made by them, to their children, heirs, friends, and ſuppoſitious creditors, ſhould be annulled, and thoſe that accepted of them puniſhed as their accomplices, Merc. Franc. and other hiſtorians. Anno 1609.

* This rich officer, at that time, took the titles of baron of Murat and Billy, counſellor of the king in all the councils, governor of Fontainebleau, and comptroller of the queen's houſhold. He died at Paris in 1614, aged about 65, leaving one ſon, a camp-marſhal, who was killed at the ſiege of Montpelier; and another, biſhop of Langres; he had thoſe ſons by Magdalen Le-Clerk Du-Tremblai, and got them legitimated.

1609. if it ſhould appear to the judges that all this was done with an intention to defraud the true creditors. By this regulation all perſons were forbid, on pain of being proſecuted as accomplices likewiſe, to give a retreat to theſe bankrupts, their ſecurities, clerks, or factors; as alſo to receive any of their goods, papers, or effects; or to afford them the leaſt aſſiſtance: all perſons were permitted to detain them without a warrant, and to bring them to juſtice, notwithſtanding any arret and cuſtom to the contrary: and, laſtly, the true creditors of the bankrupts were forbid to make any agreements or contracts with them, or any perſons acting for them, upon pain of loſing their debts, and even of having a criminal proſecution commenced againſt them. An action at law was the only way left open to them. This appeared to me to be almoſt all that could be done to ſecure the public trade and tranquility, both equally intereſted in an abuſe which was now become very common.

This edict was followed by another againſt duels, which I had long earneſtly ſollicited for. An extraordinary council being aſſembled for this purpoſe in the firſt gallery at Fontainebleau, his majeſty, who was reſolved to examine into this matter thoroughly, deſired to know the origin of the different forms and cuſtoms uſed in duelling. His counſellors gave him no cauſe to compliment them upon their erudition: all remained ſilent, and myſelf, as well as the others; but with ſuch expreſſion in my looks, as made the king eaſily perceive that I only wanted his command to ſpeak. His majeſty then turned towards me, and ſaid, "Grand maſter, by your looks, I gueſs you know more than "you pretend to know: I entreat; nay, I command you to tell us "your thoughts." I ſtill refuſed through reſpect; but being again preſt to declare my ſentiments, I made a ſpeech, which I ſhall not repeat here, ſince it contained nothing more than what I formerly ſaid in theſe Memoirs, when I treated that ſubject. I took care to ſend the edict againſt duels * immediately into my government, and to have it obſerved there with the utmoſt ſtrictneſs.

To this account of the affairs of the government, it will not be improper to add ſome intrigues of the court. Upon the advices I have mentioned of certain factions in ſeveral provinces, the king reſolved to

* This edict, which obliges thoſe who have been offended in point of honour to have recourſe to the marſhals of France, or their lieutenants, for reparation, inflicts very ſevere penalties; infamy, loſs of nobility, and even death. P. Matthieu, Vol. II. book iv.

ſend

ſend thither ſome perſon in his name, and N------- was the man he pitched upon for this purpoſe, one who would neither be pleaſed nor offended at ſeeing himſelf mentioned here. I could not approve of this choice, knowing that the hatred he bore to ſeveral perſons there, would induce him to lay crimes to their charge they never had the leaſt intentions of committing. I, therefore, told his majeſty, that, if N----- was the perſon employed by him, I would ſend no one thither from myſelf, becauſe I did not chuſe to act with ſuch an aſſociate. N------, diſappointed of this employment, reſolved to revenge himſelf on me by every method he could think of, and offered thoſe courtiers, whom he knew to be my enemies, to ſerve them as the inſtrument of all their deſigns againſt me. 1609.

Accordingly he went one day to the marquis de Coeuvres, and after obliging him to ſecrecy, it being, he ſaid, his zeal only which induced him to make the diſcovery, he affirmed, that I was gone to the parliament under pretence of having ſome buſineſs there; but, in reality, to withdraw from the regiſter's office the letters of legitimation of M. de Vendôme, which had been carried thither to be regiſtered in parliament. De Coeuvres went immediately to make this report to the perſon whom it moſt concerned, and M. de Vendôme went alſo as haſtily to complain of it to the king. His majeſty aſked him the name of the perſon who had given him this information; but M. de Vendôme, without diſcovering the impoſtor, anſwered for the truth of this report in ſuch a manner, that the king could no longer doubt of it; and when he ſaw me the next morning, aſked me what buſineſs I had at the parliament. I replied, (which was true) That I had gone thither to take copies of ſome papers in the regiſters, for which I had occaſion. "Was it for any thing that concerned my ſon de Vendôme?" returned Henry. "No, Sire," ſaid I; and, ſurpriſed at the manner in which he ſpoke to me, "Why ſhould you think M. de Vendôme was concerned "in it?" "I know why," replied this prince coldly. Two or three other words, equally myſterious, which eſcaped his majeſty, gave me to underſtand, that he had ſome ſuſpicion in his mind. I entreated him to tell me what it was, which he did: and I ſoon convinced him that calumny had here played its uſual part.

That ſame day, in the afternoon, the king being at the houſe of the counteſs of Moret, a little boy came there with a packet, which he delivered to the firſt footman he met. Madame de Moret, to whom it was brought, found a billet, in which the ſame informations were given her,

1609. her, concerning her children, as De Coeuvres had received with regard to M. de Vendôme. She began to weep; and the king desiring to know the reason, she gave him the billet to read. Henry asked for the boy who had brought it; but he was not to be found. "Madam," said he to the countess, with a thoughtful and gloomy air, "there is "some malice here on one side or the other." He then endeavoured to make some discoveries concerning the author of these stories. The boy was soon found out; and, by what he said, the king guessed that N------- was the person: for having in vain desired De Coeuvres to name him, he named him himself; and De Coeuvres, in his surprise, could not deny he was the man. However, he gave immediate notice to N------ of what had happened. N------, who saw that this affair was likely to become very serious, went to Villeroi, and, throwing himself at his feet, entreated him to support him against the effects of my resentment. Villeroi, who thought there might be some danger in defending him, at least if he did it openly, would not make him any promise; but contented himself with hazarding, when an opportunity offered, a few favourable words for N------, which his majesty received with such an air, as made him repent of his complaisance for that impostor.

Henry had just then discovered two other instances of this man's malignant disposition, which shewed that he was capable of failing in respect to majesty itself: one was, that he had had the imprudence to propagate publicly a feigned tale of an amour between Henry and a certain girl, whom he named, and the malice to inform the queen of it; and the other that he had encouraged father Gonthier, a jesuit, to continue his outrageous manner of preaching, which had already made some noise, by assuring him, that one of his sermons, which he quoted, and which was one of the most furious, had been generally admired and praised by the lords of the court, naming in particular, the marshals de Brissac and D'Ornano *. This lie was

* "Father Gonthier, a jesuit, in the "presence of the king, who attended his "sermons in St. Gervase's church, on "Friday, Christmas-day, Saturday, and "Sunday, made continual declamations "against the huguenots, whom he several "times called *vermin*, *scoundrels*:" and speaking of the new articles of their confession, in which they call the pope antichrist; "If it is true, Sire, says he, that "the pope is antichrist, on what footing "stands your marriage? Where is the dis-"pensation for it? What will become of "M. the Dauphin?" Marshal D'Ornano said one day to the king; "If any jesuit "had dared to preach before me at Bour-"deaux, as father Gonthier did in your "majesty's presence, I would have order-"ed him to be thrown into the river the "moment he came out of the pulpit."

unfortunate

unfortunate enough for N-----; for these two gentlemen being present at the reprimand the king gave father Gonthier, they likewise spoke to the father, and charged with insolence and falsehood, the person who had dared to say, they had approved of a discourse so full of impertinence. All this so irritated Henry against the impostor, that when I went the next day to desire he would do me justice, "I have "discovered the whole mystery, said he to me; it is the malicious wit "of N----- that has invented all these stories; but, for your sake, I "banish him from the court:" and the order was accordingly signified to him. This affair was much talked of, as may be well imagined: I confess I was ten whole days in perplexity and uneasiness about it. 1609.

This, however, was a trifle compared with the confusion which the prince of Conde occasioned. The marriage of this prince with Mademoiselle de Montmorency, was so far from stifling the reports at court of an intrigue between Henry and the princess, that it did but the more increase them, as I had always apprehended it would. Two thousand crowns given by his majesty for wedding cloaths for the young lady; jewels to the value of eighteen thousand livres, purchased for her, by Madame D'Angoulême, of Messier a jeweller, who lived upon the bridge Au-change, and whose receipt, of the 29th of May, was publicly known; a great number of other presents and gratuities in money given to the prince of Condé on account of this marriage, were considered as so many proofs of the correspondence between the king and princess, although, to speak candidly, there was nothing in all this

Mem. Histoire de France, anno 1609.

All the sermons of those times are filled with expressions, whose boldness and singularity, not to call them by a worse name, would be extremely shocking to us at present. The heretics were outrageous in their satyrs, and too often the preachers, in their sermons, launched out into the most extravagant declamations. A cotemporary historian, Peter Matthieu, book iii. nevertheless, gives this testimony of the jesuits: "That there was more regularity, mo-"desty, gravity, and moderation, in their "sermons, than in many others." Sauval also speaking of father Gonthier's preaching, greatly commends his eloquence and apostolic zeal. He relates, that Henry IV. being one day at the same church of St. Gervase, when father Gonthier was preaching; that preacher, justly scandalized at the irreverence with which he saw the marchioness of Verneuil, and other ladies of her company, talk, laugh, and endeavour to make his majesty laugh, turned towards that prince, and said to him; "Sire, "will you never leave off coming, accom-"panied by a seraglio, to hear the word "of God, and of giving so unedifying an "example in this holy place?" That the king, instead of sending their preacher to the Bastile, as all those ladies begged of him to do, went again the next day to hear him preach; and that meeting with him as he was going into the pulpit, he told him he was obliged to him for his correction; and that he had nothing to fear: but only desired he would not reprove him again in public.

which

1609. which might not be juſtified. But as I would avoid, likewiſe, falling into the other extreme with the flatterers of this prince, who affected to maintain in public, that he had not the leaſt regard for the young princeſs, I continue firm in my firſt ſentiments. This, indeed, was a medium between both, which very few perſons kept. The queen and the prince of Condé, who were moſt concerned in the affair, being inflamed with rage at all theſe reports continually whiſpered in their ears, ſoon put the whole court into an uproar. All my endeavours to calm the queen were fruitleſs: ſhe was quite furious, and the prince, who did not reſtrain himſelf from ſhewing his diſcontent publicly, meditated from that moment the imprudent ſtep which he took ſome time afterwards.

Henry received the firſt notice of his deſign, in a billet which was ſent him to Fontainebleau, whither he went to paſs the Eaſter-holidays, and he diſpatched it immediately to me at Paris. This was the purport of the billet: That the prince, accompanied by his phyſician, had left Fontainebleau the day after Eaſter, and came to lodge at Paris in the houſe of a Spaniſh penſionary; that all the night had been paſſed in deliberating, with great agitation on the prince's ſide, whether he ſhould not make his retreat inſtantly to Spain, which his hoſt had prevented him from doing, by making him ſenſible of the fatal conſequences that would attend ſuch an action; that the next morning a purſe of one thouſand doubloons was brought to the prince, who ſtill lay concealed at that houſe, with an aſſurance that the remainder, which was apparently ſolicited by his phyſician, ſhould be ſent him in a little time. This man has been accuſed of managing the whole affair, becauſe he had already laboured to get the marriage broken off, and make up a match between the prince and Mademoiſelle de Maïenne. He was likewiſe, it was ſaid, connected with another phyſician, a Genoeſe, who had been with Don John, and ſix weeks before was gone to the count Spinola, at the Hague, from whence he was to go to England. This billet agreed with another, which had been ſent to Beringhen, already mentioned, where it was ſaid, that the prince of Condé had obtained letters from the king of England, to the States of Holland.

All theſe informations, which Henry was entreated by the authors to keep very ſecret, could not make him believe the prince was capable of committing ſo great an error. His majeſty came to Paris at the beginning of May, and, after a ſhort ſtay, returned to Fontainebleau, whither

ther M. the prince followed him. It is certain, that his behaviour, and his diſcourſe in public, gave room to believe that he only went to brave his majeſty. "My friend," ſaid Henry in a letter to me, dated June the 12th, "M. the prince is here; but he acts like a man "poſſeſſed: you will be angry and aſhamed at the things he ſays of "me: I ſhall loſe all patience with him at laſt, and I am reſolved to talk "to him with ſeverity." The king, to puniſh him, ordered me not to pay him the April quarter of his penſion, and to give refuſals to his purveyor and all his creditors, who, knowing the gratuities which his majeſty had beſtowed upon this prince on occaſion of his marriage, addreſſed themſelves to me as to the diſpenſer of them. "If this does not keep "him within bounds, ſaid his majeſty, we muſt think of ſome other "method; for he ſays the moſt injurious things of me. We will "conſider together what is to be done, when you come hither *." 1609.

Monſieur the prince fixed upon me to impart his grievances to: but in what quality is not eaſy for me to declare; ſince, if I may flatter myſelf that my advice was not indifferent to him, yet, on the other hand, I may have reaſon to ſuſpect, that, in thoſe aſſurances of reſpect and attachment, with which, to a perſon of his rank, one would ſoften the freedom of diſapproving his conduct, he ſought for a pretence to advance afterwards with ſome appearance of probability, that I did not oppoſe his deſign of leaving the kingdom. It is this which obliges me to give an account of the converſation I had with this prince at my houſe, whither he came one Wedneſday afternoon, when he knew I was not gone to the council.

He entered my cloſet, bearing in his countenance all the marks of the diſturbance of his mind. I was not ſurpriſed that, without any other prelude, he began to talk to me of the reaſons he had to complain

* The Memoirs for the Hiſtory of France ſpeak of this in the following manner: "The king being deſperately in love with "the princeſs of Condé, ſet every body at "work, even her husband's mother." The prince complained of this, and deſired leave of his majeſty to retire with his wife, to one of his country houſes. The king refuſed his requeſt in a rude manner, and went ſo far as to affront and threaten him. It is ſaid, the prince made a haughty reply, and made uſe of the word *tyranny*; that the king laying hold of that word, ſaid: "I "never in my life was guilty of an act of "tyranny; but when I cauſed you to be re-"ceived for what you were not." The prince was in a paſſion with his mother for ſuffering herſelf to be employed as an inſtrument to corrupt the chaſtity of his wife. It was ſaid, that the marchioneſs of Verneuil, who commonly ſpoke to the king not as to her maſter, but as ſhe would to her footman, bantering on this ſubject, ſaid to him: "Are not you a ſad wretch, who "want to lie with your ſon's wife? for "you know you have told me he is your "ſon."

1609. of the king. In my anſwer, I reminded him of the many obligations his family in general owed to the king; and added, that himſelf in particular had received favours from his majeſty, which not only deſerved that he ſhould ſacrifice to them a little reſentment, conceived upon a mere ſuſpicion and an imaginary wrong, but alſo a juſt diſcontent. The prince, who could not reliſh my arguments, entertained me with I know not how many deſigns, he ſuppoſed, Henry had formed againſt him, all which I attributed to the inquietude of his mind, and to ſuſpicions carried too far: and theſe I thought to diſſipate, by repreſenting to him, in ſuch a manner as left him no room to doubt of my ſincerity, that his majeſty was ſo far from having a deſign to proceed to any extremities with him, that he would reflect that he was his near kinſman, only to add to that natural ſweetneſs with which he treated every body, a particular friendſhip and diſtinguiſhing reſpect for him. And I remember, that inſtead of allowing, through complaiſance for the prince, that Henry was capable of oppreſſing an innocent perſon, words which indeed were often repeated to me, I told him plainly, that it was commonly thoſe who were moſt guilty that abuſed the word innocence, notwithſtanding which they could not avoid meeting with the puniſhment they merited.

M. the prince, who, after ſo free a ſpeech, ought to have been upon his guard againſt me, did not ſcruple to declare that he was reſolved to leave France. Theſe imprudent words appeared to me as the effects only of an inconſiderate rage; and, if I oppoſed him with firmneſs, it was becauſe I thought, that, on theſe occaſions, firmneſs ought to accompany the advice which is given. I told him, that I could not believe he was capable of betraying, in ſuch a manner, his king, his country, his honour, and his duty; that the kingdom, and even the court, was the only fit reſidence for princes of the blood; that every where elſe their grandeur ſullied their reputation; that it was even imputed to them as a crime to remain too long in any other place, without having obtained his majeſty's permiſſion for it. The prince replying that ſuch a reſtraint ſuited neither with his birth nor rank, I anſwered, that the laws of the ſtate obliged the children and brothers of the king to as great, or, perhaps, greater ſtrictneſs of conduct, than the meaneſt of his ſubjects: and this I proved to him by examples drawn from the Hiſtory of Lewis XI. the late duke of Anjou, and of Henry himſelf. It was not in this manner that the prince wiſhed to hear me ſpeak. I perceived that his intention was now, by giving a new turn to his words, to convince me that I had brought him over

to

to my opinion; but, from so sudden an alteration, I drew the most certain proof, that he had really taken that very resolution which his last words would have persuaded me he had absolutely given up. 1609.

I had so little doubt of it, that when I was informed the prince, after he quitted me, appeared to be wholly calmed; that he had even complained to the queen of the report that was spread of his having a design to quit the court, and assured this princess that he had not the least intention to do so, adding these words, "I am very well contented with his majesty;" and spoke in the same manner almost publicly; I would not defer a moment waiting on the king, whom I assured, after faithfully relating all that had passed between the prince and myself, that he would not be in France eight days longer. Henry was ready to treat me as a madman, there was so little appearance, he said, that he could live in a foreign country like a prince without the assistance he received from him; since it was impossible he should be able to carry away any of his effects so privately, but that he might be easily prevented. To these reasons his majesty added what the prince had just said to the queen. All that you tell me, Sire, replied I, cannot make me alter my opinion; but rather confirms me in it the more: you may be angry with me, and accuse me of obstinacy; but time and the event will shew you that I am not mistaken. I see several persons, pursued I, who are in the secret, and who deceive you, although they are more obliged to you than the prince: but this ought not to seem surprising, since you help to deceive yourself. "You do not name any person," said his majesty, supposing that it was the queen's domestics of whom I spoke, "but I know whom you mean." This was not very difficult to discover. There were more, beside the king and I, who saw that the cabal played a strange part here; for they not only spread a thousand false stories about the king and the princess of Condé through the court, affirming them to be absolutely true, which was indeed the effect of their ordinary malice; but to these they added that detestable artifice, not easy to be described, by which they made these falsehoods serve to render the king in the highest degree hateful to the queen, and forced this princess to abandon herself entirely to their conduct: hence proceeded those plots to which, without her knowledge, they dared to give the authority of her name; hence the motives of a thousand new instances, not to defer the ceremony of the coronation any longer.

There was but an interval of four days between the conversation I had with the king, on the subject of the prince of Condé, and the

1609. flight of that prince. On the 29th of Auguſt *, at eleven o'clock at night, Praſlin entered my chamber juſt as I was going to bed; he told me, that the king wanted me, and that I muſt attend him immediately. "What can the king mean, couſin?" ſaid I, in the firſt emotions of my anger, and without giving him time to explain himſelf, "par-"dieu, he torments me to death: I cannot live; I cannot ſleep. I "muſt," purſued I, with great impatience, ſuppoſing this ſummons was upon an account which, for very good reaſons, I might diſpenſe with myſelf from obeying, "I muſt riſe at three o'clock to-morrow morning "to read letters and accounts, which I have received, and muſt be an-"ſwered immediately: I muſt make a memorandum of all that I am "to do to-morrow, of what is to be tranſacted by the council, of "what I am to ſay to the king, what directions I am to give my clerks, "my ſecretaries, and all thoſe who have any offices under me: I can-"not get all this done before eight o'clock in the morning, at which "hour I go to the council; judge then whether I have any time to loſe, "and if I can go now to the Louvre, from whence I know it will be "impoſſible for me to return till two or three hours after midnight: I "ſhall have no leiſure for employing myſelf in my cloſet; for the "whole day will be taken up in giving audience, and in conferences "with the clerks of accounts and other officers, who have buſineſs "with me." "I know all this, ſaid Praſlin, nor is the king ignorant "of it; for he ſaid aloud, before all the company, that I ſhould make

* The laſt of November, not the 29th of Auguſt, as theſe Memoirs erroneouſly ſay, "The prince, ſays marſhal de Baſ-"ſompierre, left the court and went to "Muret, which he quitted, accompanied "by Rochefort and Touray, a valet de "chambre, who carried the princeſs his "wife behind him on horſeback, Made-"moiſelle Du Certeau, and a chamber-"maid called Philipette, and went to "Landrecy. The king was at play in "his little cloſet when firſt D'Elbene, "and afterwards the chevalier Du-Guet, "brought him the news of it. I was "neareſt to him. He ſaid to me, in a "whiſper, my friend Baſſompierre, I am "undone: this man has carried his wife "into a wood, I do not know whether "with deſign to kill her, or to carry her "out of France: take care of my money "and go on with the game, whilſt I go to "learn more particular news. Every body "gave over play, and I took an oppor-"tunity of returning the king his mo-"ney, which he had left on the table. I "went to him, and never in my life ſaw "any one ſo diſtracted, or in ſo violent a "paſſion." Baſſompierre afterwards re-lates what paſt in the queen's chamber, and the advice M. de Sully gave the king, in the ſame manner theſe Memoirs do. Henry IV. gave ſuch violent ſigns of grief and deſpair on the princeſs of Condé's being thus carried away, that ſome ill-informed writers, ſuch as the author of l'Hiſtoire de la Mere & du Fils, have advanced, that the war he was going to enter upon in Flanders, when he was aſſaſſinated, was partly intended to oblige the archduke to deliver up that princeſs to him. See alſo Mezerai and other hiſtorians.

"you

" you angry by coming for you at ſuch an unſeaſonable hour, and at 1609.
" the only time when you have leiſure to take any reſt to relieve both
" your body and mind: but there is no help for it, monſieur, you
" muſt come: this is an affair that concerns him nearly, and he is
" perſuaded, that, if there is any remedy for the evil, it is you only
" who can diſcover it. The man you know of, is fled, as, the king
" ſaid, you foretold; and, what is worſe, has taken the lady along
" with him." " Oh, replied I, is this the buſineſs then for which he
" has ſent for me; truly there will be a little anger on his ſide: for,
" I doubt, we ſhall not agree in our opinions." " I know, added I,
" that Mars and Venus are often in very good intelligence; yet, if we
" would have good ſucceſs in affairs that depend upon the former, the
" latter muſt ſometimes yield to him; and this poſſibly may furniſh us
" with ſome good reaſon for haſtening our buſineſs: therefore let us
" go, couſin; I am ready."

When I came to the Louvre, I found the king in the queen's chamber, walking backwards and forwards, with his head reclined, and his hands folded behind his back: with the queen were preſent Meſſieurs de Sillery, de Villeroi, de Gêvres, de La-Force, La-Varenne, and ſome others, leaning againſt the hangings, and at ſuch a diſtance from each other, that they could not converſe but aloud. " Well," ſaid Henry, taking my hand as ſoon as I entered, " our man is gone, and has carried all with him: what ſay you to this?" " I ſay, Sire, replied I, " that I am not ſurpriſed to hear it; and, after what he ſaid to me at " the arſenal, I expected this flight, which you might have prevented if " you would have believed me." " I knew you would ſay this, replied " the king; but we muſt not ſpeak of things that are paſt; let us " think only of the future, and let us conſider what is to be done " now: give me your advice; for I have yet applied to no other perſon." " Sire, returned I, I am not yet ſufficiently well informed of " all the circumſtances relating to this affair, and have not reflected as " much upon it as is neceſſary I ſhould: I entreat you to let me ſleep " upon it, and to-morrow I will attend you, and will endeavour to " give you the beſt advice I can: but, if you preſs me now, I ſhall ſay " nothing to the purpoſe; for my judgment is not very clear at preſent." " No, interrupted his majeſty, this is not true; I know you too well: " tell me your thoughts immediately." " It is impoſſible, Sire, ſaid " I; and, if you perſiſt in preſſing me ſo earneſtly, I repeat it again, I " ſhall ſay nothing to the purpoſe: I beſeech you excuſe me till to-" morrow." " Indeed I will not, ſaid Henry; you muſt ſpeak now: " therefore

1609. " therefore tell me what I ſhould do." " Nothing at all," Sire, I replied; for I was obliged to ſpeak. " How! nothing? exclaimed he, " this is not advice." " Pardon me, Sire, reſumed I, it is, and the " beſt that you can follow: there are maladies which require time rather than remedies, and I believe this to be of ſuch a nature." " This declamation is unſeaſonable, ſaid Henry with the ſame impatience; I muſt have reaſons. Are theſe yours?" " I have no " good ones, Sire, anſwered I, if theſe are contrary to your inclinations. " In my opinion, however, the affair does not admit of much doubt " about what ſhould be done: it is neceſſary to wait for further particulars, before any thing is undertaken, that you may fix upon the " beſt expedients, and till then, I think, it ought to be talked of as little " as poſſible; nor ſhould it appear of any conſequence to you, or capable of giving you the leaſt uneaſineſs."

I SUPPORTED this opinion by a reflection which ſeemed to me abſolutely juſt; and this was, that the good or bad reception which the Spaniards would give the prince, depended upon the impreſſion his flight made upon the king; ſo that it was not impoſſible but that they would receive the prince with contempt, to ſpare the expences they would otherways be obliged to, eſpecially if we could make them entertain a ſuſpicion that this flight of the prince of Condé's was a thing concerted between his majeſty and him. " What," ſaid the king ſhaking his head, " would you that I ſhould ſuffer a petty prince, my " neighbour, to give a retreat contrary to my inclinations to the firſt " prince of my blood, without ſhowing any reſentment of it? This is " fine advice indeed! I ſhall not follow it; Praſlin ſhall ſet out *, in

* " Praſlin actually went; but the archduke made anſwer, that he had never violated the law of nations on any occaſion whatever; and that he would, on no conſideration, begin in the caſe of the firſt prince of the blood-royal of France: and ſoon after ſent the prince a ſum of money, and an eſcort to conduct him to Bruſſels." Mem. pour l'Hiſtoire de France, anno 1609.

The Marſhal de Baſſompierre in his Memoirs ſays, the archduke was ſo much ſtaggered with M. de Praſlin's declaration, that he ſent to deſire the prince would only paſs through his dominions, without making any ſtay in them, though he had before promiſed to receive him; but that afterwards he again changed his reſolution, by the advice of the marquis Spinola, and treated the prince with the higheſt honours. Baſſompierre's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 28.

Father Daniel, in his Hiſtory of France, in 4to. Vol. X. p. 437, has thrown new lights on this incident, from the letters in the library of the Abbé d'Eſtrées, by which it appears, that Henry IV. ſecretly ſent the marquis de Cœuvres to Bruſſels to endeavour to carry off the princeſs off Condé; and that the attempt miſcarried only by the king having diſcovered this deſign to the queen, who immediately diſpatched a courier to inform the marquis Spinola of it; on which the princeſs of Conde was removed into an apartment in the archduke's palace.

" a few

" a few days, to signify my intentions." " I told you, Sire, said I, 1609.
" that not having considered this affair, I should say nothing to your
" satisfaction. Another thought has just occured, which will not be
" any prejudice to what you propose to do; but I cannot tell it you
" till two days hence: however, I am sure you will be better satisfied
" with it than my first proposal. His majesty consented to this delay,
" and, embracing me, said, return home and go to bed; sleep till eight
" o'clock; for I had rather the council should not be held to-morrow,
" and my ordinary affairs be postponed one day, than your health
" should suffer the smallest prejudice."

I WAS not deceived in my conjecture that the other proposal I had to make to his majesty, concerning the prince's retreat into Flanders, would please him better than the former. He came to the arsenal three days afterwards to know it. We continued shut up an hour in my closet; but it is not proper to reveal what past there on the subject. The king, at parting, said aloud, " Adieu, my friend; stay at home
" and finish my business: but above all labour for the success of the
" proposal you have made me; for I approve of it much more than
" the advice you gave me in my wife's chamber at the Louvre."

THE prince of Condé, thinking it necessary to justify his late action, sent a letter * some days afterwards to the king. He likewise sent ano-

* " The prince wrote to the king, " that it was with the utmost regret, and " in order to preserve his life and honour " only, that he had retired from the court, " and not with any intention ever to be " otherwise than his majesty's humble re- " lation, faithful subject, and servant. He " adds, I will never engage in any thing " contrary to your majesty's service, un- " less I am compelled to it; and beg you " will not take it amiss, if I refuse to see, or " receive, any letters which shall be wrote " to me from court, by any one whatever, " except those your majesty may be pleased " to honour me with." Mem. for the Hist. of France, anno 1610. Siri, who gives a very minute account of this retreat of the prince of Condé, in the Mem. recond. Vol. II. p. 82, & seq. adds many other particulars to those here mentioned; but the greatest part of them, in my opinion, deserve little credit; as where he rashly asserts, on the foundation of popular report, that the only motive that induced Henry IV. to undertake the war against the Spaniards, was to oblige them to send back the princess of Condé; and that finding them, in spite of his menaces, persist in refusing so to do, he repented of having pushed matters so far. He adds a reflection on the honour of that princess, as if she had been a party concerned in this design against her husband, whom she disliked on account of a natural or acquired infirmity, which would have been sufficient to annul their marriage: that she was extremely desirous to return to France: that, during her residence at Brussels, she continued to receive letters of gallantry from Henry IV. that the prince of Condé was so well acquainted with her disposition in regard to him, that he could not conceal his resentment at it; and that on his return, he talked publickly of obtaining a divorce from her. The

ther,

1609. ther, at the ſame time, to M. de Thou, much fuller and more circumſtantial, in which, among other things, he inſinuated, that I was the cauſe of his leaving France. "He ought to accuſe his own malice, "and that of many other perſons who adviſed him to it, ſaid the king, "and not you. I deſire you will write to him, and give him a fair re-"preſentation of all that has paſſed; and that you will tell him, with "the reſpect due to his quality, not to his perſon, the plain truth, and "the miſery he will infallibly expoſe himſelf to, if he does not return "to his duty." "I will go home then, Sire, ſaid I (for we were "then at the conſtable's houſe) and draw up the heads of my letter, "and will bring it to you." "No, no, replied his majeſty, you "muſt write here; I will make them bring you ink and paper."' "But, Sire, reſumed I, this letter is of conſequence: it is neceſſary "I ſhould reflect well upon it, and examine it attentively before I ſend "it; for, if I write what will ſatisfy you, I muſt alſo conſider what "ſuits with the prince's quality and my own, that no perſon, either in "France or elſewhere, nor himſelf, who you ſee ſeeks for occaſions "to accuſe and blame me, may find any thing there to authoriſe him. "I am not prepared to write ſo ſuddenly." Notwithſtanding all I could alledge in my excuſe, I was obliged to write this letter inſtantly in his majeſty's preſence; and at one end of the table, near which we were ſitting. This letter, tho' writ ſo haſtily, was approved of by the king; and here follow the contents.

I BEGAN with complaining to the prince, that, having believed he had reſpect enough for me not to make me a viſit with any other intention than to aſk my advice, yet he gave me occaſion now to ſuſpect that viſit was only to draw me into the commiſſion of ſome error or imprudence. As to the reſt, he knew better than any one elſe how much in vain he had laid that ſnare for me; and here I related, leſs for him than the public, all that had paſſed in the converſation we had together at the arſenal, which the reader has already ſeen. After this I owned to him, without any diſguiſe, that having, notwithſtanding all his art, penetrated into his deſign, I had informed the king of it, who might have prevented him from executing it, if he had believed me, or been leſs good and indulgent. I made no apologies to the prince for the advice

greateſt truth Siri ſpeaks on this ſubject, is, that the king obſtinately rejected all the rational advice given him on this occaſion by the nuncio, ſome of his counſellors, and particularly the duke of Sully, whom he alſo commends for his reſolute and free manner of ſpeaking and writing to the prince of Conde.

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I had given to his majeſty againſt him, ſince it was for the good of the ſtate, for the king's advantage, and for his own, however little he might attend to it. I laid before his eyes the conſequences of the imprudent ſtep he had taken: I aſked him, what he had to expect from the archdukes and the Spaniards, who, conſidering him as an uſeleſs burden upon them, would inſult him by their haughty and inſolent behaviour, and ſecretly applaud themſelves for it? I conjured him to reflect on what he owed to the conſideration of his honour, his virtue, his birth, and duty; and exhorted him to implore the king's pardon as ſoon as poſſible. To theſe intreaties, I added offers of ſervice, which would prove to him my zeal for his intereſt, and attachment to his perſon. 1609.

It will be eaſily granted, that ſuch a letter was very extraordinary from a man who, in the ſuppoſition of having connived at his flight, might have been ſtruck dumb with a ſingle word in anſwer from one of ſo high a rank as firſt prince of the blood. Yet I went farther: I told the prince, that the civilities, praiſes, and acknowledgments, with which he had loaded me at the arſenal, were, to my great regret, but ill repaid by the neceſſity his letter had reduced me to, of declaring the truth in ſuch a manner as perhaps he might think inconſiſtent with the reſpect I owed him: that he ought, in his own mind, to render me the juſtice I deſerved; but that he would now be convinced, that the firſt ſtep any man takes contrary to his duty, by a neceſſary conſequence makes him violate all the laws of ſincerity: laſtly, that whatever his intention might be in thus endeavouring to involve me in his crime, I had always held it my glory and my honour to be thus treated by the enemies of the king and the ſtate; and implored heaven to inſpire the prince with ſuch ſentiments as might efface all remembrance of a fault which had, with too much juſtice, deſerved thoſe two epithets. This letter * was publiſhed; but it produced no anſwer, which entirely deſtroyed, even in the opinions of my enemies themſelves, all ſuſpicions ariſing from the prince's inſinuation.

A dispute aroſe between Villeroi and De-Freſne, on account of the letters † which the king ordered to be ſent into the provinces, two days

* "The prince of *** refuſed to receive the letters the duke of Sully wrote "to him, telling thoſe who brought "them, that he would receive nothing "that came from him." L'Etoile, ibid.

† In Vol. 9772 of the Royal MSS. we find the ſummons delivered to the prince of Condé at Bruſſels, in the month of February 1610, by Meſſ. de Berny and Manicamp, in the king's name, requiring him to return to France, under the pe-

1609. after the flight of the prince, to ſignify his intentions concerning this event. Villeroi compoſed a form for theſe letters, which he would have had all the other ſecretaries of ſtate to have followed. De Freſne thought the expreſſions he uſed unworthy of the dignity of him from whom they were ſuppoſed to proceed, which indeed was true; and, as he was generally allowed to write quite as well as his brother ſecretary, he was afraid of ſome cavils by ſending this letter, as written by himſelf to thoſe perſons, with whom, by his office, he was connected. He imparted his perplexity to me, and entreated me to extricate him out of it.

I have nothing to ſay concerning the affairs of the proteſtant body, except that they ſupported themſelves happily againſt all the calumnies which were invented againſt them, and which they brought even to his majeſty's ear, by advices and diſcourſes of all kinds. A letter was addreſſed to the king, dated the 31ſt of July, ſuppoſed to be written from Rochelle, in a counterfeit hand, and falſly ſigned Emanuel de La-Faye, in which he was informed, that, in an aſſembly held at St. Maixant, the miniſter of Blois, who was called Viguier, had preſented a book, entituled Antichriſt diſplayed *, ſcandalous, it was ſaid, and outrageous to the laſt degree: that, in this aſſembly, it was reſolved the book ſhould be printed, after it had been examined by the academy of Saumur: and that this book was then actually in the preſs, notwithſtanding his majeſty's public prohibition.

This letter † is filled with ſo many minute particulars, and paſſion and prejudice appear every where ſo ſtrongly in it, that the reader will not, I believe, be diſpleaſed at my ſuppreſſing it. The author certainly flattered himſelf, that he ſhould make it be believed that the Rochellers fortified their city, upon a ſuppoſition that they ſhould ſoon have a ſiege

nalty of becoming guilty of high treaſon; and the prince's refuſal to obey it. The parliament paſſed an arret againſt him, by which he was condemned to undergo whatever puniſhment his majeſty ſhould think fit to inflict on him. Henry IV. went in perſon to parliament, to ſolicit the paſſing of this arret; and, as a mark of his grief, he went without ſtate or train: he ſat down in the chief preſident's place without canopy or footſtool, the hall being only guarded by the uſhers of the parliament, inſtead of the king's officers.

* The ſupplement to the Journal of Henry IV. printed in 1736, takes notice of this book, and ſays, that father Gonthier, in a ſermon he preached before the king, having made violent invectives, on this account, againſt the huguenots, the king reprimanded him, and ordered the book to be ſuppreſſed, which, in reality, has never appeared ſince. Anno 1609.

† It is to be ſeen in Sully's Memoirs, Vol. IV. p. 335.

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to ſuſtain; and that an aſſembly was held at Marſeilles, to oblige the king to call a convocation of the ſtates of the kingdom. Du-Pleſſis was, as they alledged, the author of theſe plots, all abſolutely without foundation, except indeed ſome murmurs againſt the gabelle in Mirebalais and Loudunois, in which, however, a very ſmall number of proteſtants had any part. With regard to Du-Pleſſis, he was the very man who ſent the firſt information of it to his majeſty; and I thought myſelf obliged in honour, tho' my enemy, as till then he had ſhewn himſelf to be, to give teſtimony to his innocence, when I convinced the king, who inſiſted upon my taking a journey into Poitou to repreſs the rebellious deſigns of the proteſtants, that his real enemies endeavoured to keep themſelves concealed by branding thoſe with that guilt who did not deſerve it. Du-Pleſſis thanked me in a long letter, which contained a juſtification, in form, againſt all the heads of the accuſation. 1609.

The following information, which was given me by a gentleman of unqueſtioned honour, appeared to me more circumſtantial, and more worthy of attention. In one of the ſtreets of La-Fleche called Des Quatre Vents, and near an inn, with a ſign of the ſame name, there had lodged, for ſome months, a man, whoſe name was Médor, a native of Avranche, with a widow, called Jane Huberſon, who boarded ſcholars of reputable families, that were under the care of Médor. A niece of this widow's, about twenty-ſix years of age, named Rachael Renaud, who lived with her aunt, and a couſin called Huberſon likewiſe, going one day into Médor's ſtudy, found a book there which excited her curioſity: it was finely gilt, and tied very neatly with blue and carnation ribbons, and very thick. She opened it, and ſaw that half of it was written, partly with ink, and partly with blood: that it was full of ſignatures, almoſt all in blood, among which, ſurpriſed as ſhe was, ſhe diſtinguiſhed that of Médor, of a man named Du-Noyer, who lived in a village in the neighbourhood of Paris, near Villeroi, and of another man named Du-Croſs, from Billon in Auvergne, who had formerly belonged to the duke de Mercœur. Theſe two men ſhe knew, becauſe they had often come to viſit their lodger.

As ſhe was going out of the cloſet, with an intention to carry this book to her aunt, ſhe met Médor, who ſnatching it out of her hands, aſked her, in a rage, what ſhe was going to do with it. She told him ingenuouſly, that it was ſo pretty ſhe was deſirous her aunt ſhould ſee it; and then asked him the meaning of thoſe ſignatures of blood, which ſhe had ſeen in it. Médor, fearing that ſhe had carried her curioſity ſo far

1609. as to examine the writing, at the end of which were thoſe names ſubſcribed, and which contained an aſſociation of conſpirators againſt the king's perſon, told her, that it was an oath, which, for the intereſt of their religion, a great many zealous catholics had taken to continue faithfully attached to the Pope. This anſwer did not hinder the girl from ſpeaking of the book to her aunt and couſin, who were the only proteſtants in the houſe. They thought the diſcovery of ſuch conſequence, that, after getting all the information they could from the girl of what ſhe had ſeen, they related it to the perſon who gave me notice of it, with all the circumſtances neceſſary to make a fuller diſcovery *.

The book was immediately taken out of Médor's chamber, and carried, as Huberſon and the girl believed, to Du-Croſs, whoſe direction they gave. He lodged with a man named Druillet, who lived in a houſe without the city, near the gate of St. Germain, on the right ſide. With this Druillet ſeveral children of quality boarded, and particularly of the province of Britanny; becauſe he likewiſe had been in the duke of Mercœur's ſervice. Du-Croſs was the ſoul of this cabal. An aſſembly at the jeſuits college, in which he held one of the chief places, and where he was often employed to deliver public diſcourſes, gave him all

* Neither L'Etoile, nor the continuator of M. De Thou, nor father Chalons, nor even D'Aubigné, nor, in ſhort, any of the hiſtorians of thoſe times, the moſt avowed enemies of the jeſuits, excepting Mezerai alone, have ever mentioned, and conſequently never believed any thing of this conſpiracy againſt the king, or this plot for forming a new league; for one cannot tell in which light to conſider this relation, which, being unſupported by evidence, may ſignify whatever one pleaſes, or rather nothing at all. Mezerai himſelf, who is of opinion that a new league was intended, whilſt, from the ſame words, the duke of Sully concludes it was to be an attempt on the king's life; Mezerai, I ſay, ſpeaks of it, Abr. chr. & hiſt. in folio, printed at Paris in 1667, Vol. III. p. 1443, in ſuch a manner, that it is evident he only copies Sully's Memoirs. Now as theſe Memoirs, the only ſource of this accuſation, have reſted it on no other foundation than the ſingle evidence of a young girl, and have left it as a mere conjecture only; every man of ſenſe will be cautious in drawing ſo ill-natured a concluſion from hence, as that either the league was intended to be renewed, a mad and chimerical deſign, or the aſſaſſination of Henry IV. intended; the perpetrator of which no where appears to have had any connection at La-Fléche. But ſhould we even allow the reality of this pretended plot, it does not appear the jeſuits were any ways concerned in it; the girl, on whoſe evidence the proof of it reſts, did not alledge any thing againſt them. The love of truth has led me to make this obſervation, becauſe we ſee but too many, whoſe naturally warm imagination, heated to a ſtill greater degree by prejudice and paſſion, want only the leaſt ſhadow of conjecture, or an unguarded expreſſion, to determine their judgment on matters whoſe importance make ſuch groundleſs determinations ſtill more blameable.

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the opportunities he could desire, to associate a great number of persons into his black designs: and here it was that he became acquainted with Médor and Du-Noyer. 1609.

To these informations were added all those that I was able to get myself. The morning after I received the billet, which was on October 19th, I sent a person, on whom I could securely depend, to search the bottom of this affair: but although all his discoveries served to confirm what had been wrote to me, and that the girl herself offered to maintain her deposition before any person who should chuse to hear her, and even in his majesty's presence, the credit and artifice of those who were concerned in this accusation were exerted with such success, that an affair, which certainly merited a further examination, was buried in silence. Domestic dissensions, and intestine plots, were the two evils which pursued Henry, after he had extricated himself from the dangers of war, till the last moment of his life. The count of Auvergne continued still imprisoned in the Bastile: he obtained permission of his majesty to be removed for a change of air, on account of his indisposition, and he was carried to a pavilion on the water, which was at the end of the gardens belonging to the arsenal; but guards were placed upon him during the whole time he staid there. He also obtained leave to speak to the sieur de Châteaumorand.

Henry's health was this year only interrupted with some slights fits of the gout. He did not drink the waters, because they were of no use to him. M. the Dauphin, and all the children of France, enjoyed likewise a good state of health. Henry made as long a stay as usual at Fontainebleau: he passed the whole autumn there, after a short excursion to Monceaux, and returned to Paris at the beginning of winter.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF

SULLY.

BOOK XXVII.

1609. ALL that remains for me to ſay of the tranſactions of this year relates to foreign affairs, which I ſhall begin with thoſe of the United Provinces. The king granted them, in the month of April the ſum of three hundred thouſand livres. Préaux was ſent to the States with this agreeable news, and I received orders from his majeſty to ſend the money to Dieppe, where it was to be ſhipped on board a veſſel belonging to the Republic. Henry thought himſelf obliged to reward, by this laſt inſtance of his bounty, the reſpect the council of the United Provinces had ſhewn for him, in giving him the principal part in their accommodation with Spain; for in this year was at length concluded the truce *, which had been ſo long in agitation, and equally deſired by all, even by thoſe who had at firſt appeared moſt againſt it: and the prince of Orange himſelf at laſt agreed to it.

I SHALL not here tranſcribe the treaty, which was drawn up at the Hague, the uſual place for holding the conferences; but only that of

* It will be proper, as well on the negotiations of this famous truce, as on all the affairs of Flanders mentioned in theſe Memoirs, to conſult the volumes of the king's MSS. marked 9759, 9981, 9005, Le Merc. Franç. Matthieu, Vittorio Siri, and the particular hiſtories of that republic.

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the intervention of the kings of France and England as guarantees for the execution of it. This piece is dated June 27, 1609, and was ſigned as the former, at the Hague, in the preſence of meſſire Peter Jeannin, chevalier, baron of Changy and Montreu, one of the counſellors of his moſt chriſtian majeſty in his council of ſtate, and his ambaſſador extraordinary to the States; and of meſſire Elie de La-Place, chevalier, lord of Ruſſy, viſcount of Machaut, member of the king's council of ſtate, gentleman in ordinary of his bed chamber, and his ambaſſador in ordinary; both of them in the name, and has having authority from the moſt high, moſt powerful, and moſt excellent prince Henry IV. &c. Afterward followed the names of his Britannic majeſty's two miniſters, with the ſame titles of ambaſſadors in ordinary and extraordinary; and after them the names of the counſellors and miniſters of the ſeveral provinces of the Low-Countries, with a reciprocal obligation to cauſe the contents of the ſaid treaty to be ratified, within two months, by the reſpective parties. 1609.

THE intervention and guarantee are expreſſed in the following manner: That the two kings, notwithſtanding all their endeavours, having been unable to procure a firm and ſolid peace between the two warring powers, had at length propoſed to them a long truce, to which likewiſe many obſtacles were raiſed, which would probably have blaſted the ſcheme, if their majeſties, for the good of the parties, and the ſecurity of their ſtates, had not conſented to have been guarantees and ſecurities for it; and therefore that they promiſed, and engaged themſelves, to aſſiſt the United Provinces with all their forces, not only in caſe of any infraction of the truce by Spain, but alſo if their trade to the Indies ſhould be interrupted, or ſuffer the leaſt injury, either from his catholic majeſty, the archdukes, their officers, or ſubjects. This extended as well to thoſe whom the States thought proper to aſſociate with them in this trade, as to the countries where it was carried on; provided, however, that the republic did not pretend to be judges themſelves of the injuries they received in this reſpect, but left them to the deciſion of their majeſties in a common council, wherein they were to be allowed a vote: in caſe the judgment ſhould be too long delayed, they were to give orders in the mean time for the ſecurity of their ſubjects. That, in conſequence of which, the contracting parties ſhould renew and confirm the private treaties made the preceding year, one on the 23d of January, between France and the United Provinces; and another, on the 26th of June, between England and the ſame Provinces, by applying to the truce the ſame agreements, promiſes, and obligations, which

1609. which theſe treaties expreſſed during the continuance of a peace, which was then believed to be upon the point of concluding. That, in acknowledgment for the guarantee of the two mediating kings, and for the aſſiſtance which the States-General had received from them, they engaged to make no treaty or agreement with the archdukes during the twelve years of the truce, without the advice and conſent of their majeſties, who promiſed, on their ſide, not to enter into any alliance prejudicial to the liberty and ſafety of their friends and allies: for theſe were the titles given by the two princes to the States.

The archdukes, that they might not give offence to the king of Spain, refuſed their conſent to its being mentioned in the treaty for a truce, that the Dutch ſhould be ſecured in their trade to the Indies: they only undertook, of their own accord, acting under his catholic majeſty, to allow the exerciſe of it: therefore the Republic, who ſought a ſecurity againſt a new breach of faith from the Spaniards, had it, at laſt, made one of the poſitive articles of the treaty for the mediation of the kings of France and England. Henry was not ſorry ſince the war between Spain and Flanders was to end, it ſhould end in this manner.

I ought not to omit mentioning an obligation, which, on this occaſion, I received, rather indeed from Henry, than the council of the United Provinces, which regarded my nephews D'Epinoy. His majeſty, who had often liſtened to my complaints of the injuſtice which theſe children had ſuffered from the count and counteſs of Ligne, and who, from the time that they were brought to me in France, had given them many proofs of his kindneſs, which I believe I have mentioned ſomewhere or other in theſe Memoirs, was deſirous of doing ſomething more for them. Jeannin * had orders to confer with the archduke Albert upon their affairs, to endeavour to engage him in their intereſt, and to do them juſtice. Either he or Caumartin delivered to this prince a memorial which I had drawn up, and which explained the claims the family of Epinoy had to the ſucceſſion of that of Melun. The archduke's anſwer, which he ſent the king in the year 1601, gave me reaſon to hope for ſucceſs. Accordingly this prince, finding that

* There is a letter in the cabinet of the preſent duke of Sully, from the late duke to the preſident Jeannin, in which, after taking notice of the then preſent ſtate of the affairs of the United Provinces, and theſe of Cleves, he recommends the intereſt of his nephew, the prince of Epinoy, to him. This letter is too long to be here tranſcribed: it is dated at Fontainebleau, the 15th of June, 1609.

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his majesty interested himself in the affair, took so much part in it, 1629.
that by a provisional agreement my nephew D'Epinoy *, who by the death of his brother was the sole heir, obtained a restitution of great part of those effects which had been forfeited by his father. This agreement, which, through the interest of the king and the archduke, became a writing of great importance, was afterwards the best the princess of Ligne † could make use of, to prove that all the rest of this estate, which she had not been deprived of, had been granted to her.

I thought of an expedient to put an end to these evasions and artifices, which was to obtain the consent of the council of the United Provinces to insert, in their treaty of truce, an article by which this question was decided in favour of the young D'Epinoy. My request, which I made privately, was granted with great willingness; the article was inserted and expressed that upon the refusal, which the princess of Ligne had given to the council of the United Provinces, to make a restitution of the estates of the house of Epinoy, which she unjustly enjoyed, two arbitrators should be named for his most christian majesty, and two for the archdukes, who should meet at Vervins to give a definitive judgment: that, if the votes were divided, they should appoint an umpire; and, if they could not agree upon the choice, his most christian majesty should be this umpire, to whose sentence the princess of Ligne and all the other respective heirs should submit; and the archdukes, of whom these estates were held, should permit the execution of it: and that, in the mean time, the estates of the house of Vassenard, and all others belonging to the prince of Epinoy, within the extent of the Dutch provinces, should be restored to him.

The princess of Ligne used her utmost endeavours to elude the decision. This last clause depriving her of all hope, she appealed to the agreement before mentioned. She alledged, that part of those estates which were required of her, being in the province of Holland, had been charged with heavy taxes; for which she demanded compensation. When she found herself pressed, she affected to abate of her obstinacy, and only requested that the affair might be terminated by any

* William de Melun, prince of Epinoy, &c. He had many other brothers who either died young or without issue. He has been spoke of before.

† Mary de Melun, lady of Roubais, D'Antoing, &c. wife of Lamoral, the first prince of Ligne, governor of Artois, knight of the golden fleece.

1609. other method than a rigorous judgment, and propoſed ſeveral herſelf, eſpecially when ſhe perceived that her nephew was inclined to purchaſe an agreement with her by the ſacrifice of ſome of his juſt claims. The archduke ſeemed to enter with her into all the expedients that could be thought on to make me deſiſt; for I was the perſon whom, on this occaſion, they looked upon to be the real adverſary. A marriage was propoſed between my nephew and the princeſs of Ligne's ſecond daughter. This expedient was happily enough imagined, if the mother had been a reaſonable woman: but ſhe would not give this daughter a portion equal to that ſhe had given with the eldeſt. I left it to her choice, either to reſign twenty-five thouſand livres a year to D'Epinoy, as a portion for her daughter, or to make him a reſtitution of his whole eſtate, though my nephew by this offer loſt conſiderably: yet it was rejected with diſdain. The remainder of the year was paſſed in making and refuſing propoſitions, which all amounted to nothing.

There was again a neceſſity that his majeſty ſhould interpoſe, which he had the goodneſs to do, by writing a letter, dated October 19, to the archduke, in which he complained of the princeſs of Ligne's proceedings, and of the little ſolicitude he himſelf ſhewed for the fulfilling that article of the treaty relating to the prince of Epinoy. As to the agreement which madame de Ligne laid ſuch ſtreſs upon, the king obſerved, that, beſides that nothing can be oppoſed to a determination recorded in a treaty made between ſovereigns, it was the opinion of his council, and conformable to the laws of his kingdom, that the authority of any prince which is added to a contract, ſhould not hinder the ſubject who is injured by it from claiming his right. He deſired him to hear what * Berny and Préaux had to ſay, whom he had ordered to acquaint him with every circumſtance of the affair; and, repeating his inſtances in favour of Epinoy, he declared that he would anſwer for the fidelity and obedience of his new vaſſal. He owned that D'Epinoy was willing to purchaſe an agreement and union with his aunt, at the expence of a ſmall part of his eſtate; but that himſelf had been one of the firſt to adviſe him not to liſten to her while ſhe continued to be ſo unreaſonable in her demands. This letter was more in the ſtyle of a friend than a king; and in almoſt all thoſe which Villeroi and Jeannin wrote by his order to the States, the affair of Epinoy was mentioned with great warmth. I likewiſe urged it on in the letters I writ

* Matthew Brulart, lord of Berny, the king's preſident at the court of the archduke. Hector de Préaux, a calviniſt gentleman, governor of Châtelleraut.

to

to Préaux, from whom, upon this occaſion, I received ſervices which I promiſed him ſhould not go unrewarded. 1609.

This year the duke of Bouillon obtained letters of naturalization for his children born at Sedan. The king did not obſerve, that in theſe letters, and in the petition preſented on this occaſion to the chamber of accounts, Bouillon had aſſumed the title of ſovereign of Sedan; and therefore made no oppoſition to it by his attorney-general. But his majeſty repaired this failure, by ordering Jerôme L'Huillier, the attorney-general, to demand an act, by which it was allowed, that his compliance with this petition, and his ſilence with reſpect to the titles there aſſumed, ſhould not injure his rights if he ſhould be able, at any time, by his papers, claims, or records of the treaſury of archives, to make appear that Sedan was anciently a fief depending on that of Mouſon, which was part of the crown lands. This act, of the 11th of April, is inſerted in the regiſters of the chamber of accounts.

His majeſty ſent the duke of Lunebourg-Brunſwick's deputy to me for the payment of ſeven thouſand crowns, which the king ordered me to give him, without making farther enquiry into, as the ſum was ſo moderate. I obeyed his commands, and, at the ſame time, treated him with the utmoſt degree of politeneſs. Henry, by ſuch inſtances of kindneſs and reſpect, endeavoured to attach the German princes ſtill more to his intereſt. I likewiſe rendered ſome ſervices to the duke of Savoy, which produced a letter from this prince to me, and a viſit of thanks from M. de Jacop his ambaſſador. This deference, added to the viſits I was obſerved to pay to the duke of Savoy's ambaſſador in return, appeared to my enemies at court a ſufficient foundation for ſuggeſting to the king, that the duke of Savoy made the ſame uſe of me as he had done of marſhal Biron. Henry took care not to tell them that he was acquainted with all my proceedings, and approved of them; but thanked them for their information, and wrote me an account of all they had ſaid, deſiring me, at the ſame time, to bring him the laſt letters I had received from Turin the next time I attended him.

Another attempt was made upon the city of Geneva this year, under the direction of Du-Terrail *, the ſame who has been ſo often

* Lewis de Combourſier, lord of Terrail, a gentleman of Dauphiny, and a relation of Leſdiguieres. The Memoirs for the hiſtory of France ſpeak of him as Sully's do. "The king, ſay they, whoſe natural "ſubject he was, had granted him four

1609. mentioned in theſe Memoirs. He ſucceeded ſo ill in it, that he was taken priſoner there, and without any form of trial put to death. He was a man of great underſtanding and courage; but giddy with ambition, and abſorbed in vice: therefore the king was not concerned that juſtice had overtaken him. As ſoon as it was known that he was impriſoned, the king was wearied with ſolicitations in his favour: but the news of his death followed that of his detention ſo cloſe, that he was not long embarraſſed. "We have a happy riddance of him, ſaid "this prince to me; he was a dangerous man: ever ſince I obſerved "that he had left off viſiting you, and haunting you as uſual; and after "that murder * he committed in the view of us both, as we ſtood to-"gether upon the balcony, I loſt all hope of him."

The duke of Florence, after the death of the duke his father †, having ſent an ambaſſador extraordinary to Rome to pay his obedience to the pope, he, either by his maſter's orders or from his own inclination, or perhaps through contempt, viſited the Spaniſh ambaſſador before ours. Henry, when he was informed of this affront, reſolved to take vengeance for it, and began by revoking an order, which, upon the repreſentations made him by the chevalier Guidi, he had given for the payment of a hundred thouſand livres, which were ſtill due to the

"ſeveral pardons; but he had no ſooner "got a pardon in one pocket, as the king "ſaid, but he had a ſceme for a plot rea-"dy in another."—The pardon the king would have granted him would not have ſaved his life. He and La-Baſtide, a gentleman of Bourdel, who was taken with him, were beheaded at Geneva on the 29th of April.

* "On Tueſday the 8th of Auguſt, "Le-Terrail, in the king's ſight, before "the windows of the gallery of the Lou-"vre, killed Mazancy, a brave Gaſcoon "officer, whom his majeſty had juſt been "ſpeaking to. The king was ſo much "affected with ſeeing this action, that he "was obliged, as it was ſaid, to change "his ſhirt twice upon it." Mem. for the Hiſt. of France, anno 1606.

Du-Terrail was obliged to leave the kingdom after this aſſaſſination.

† Ferdinand de Médicis, grand duke of Tuſcany, who, in 1587, ſucceeded his brother Francis Maria de Médicis, died the year before. "The king," ſays L'Etoile, or the author of the Supplement to his Journal, "in order to acquaint the queen "with his death, without ſurpriſing her, "told her, as he was getting up, he had "dreamed he ſaw the grand duke dead. "The queen at firſt was ſtruck with it; "but recollecting herſelf, ſhe ſaid it was "only a dream. But, Madam, replied "the king, I am afraid my dream is true; "we are all mortal. He is dead then? "Yes, added the king; here is the letter "that informs me of his death."—This death occaſioned a ſuſpenſion of the uſual diverſion of the carnival, &c. It was this Ferdinand who made anſwer to our ambaſſador, when remonſtrating to him on account of his connections with Spain; "Had "the king had forty gallies at Marſeilles, "I would not have done what I have." Como II. de Médicis his ſon, is the perſon here in queſtion.

grand

grand duke. Jouanini, this prince's agent, who foreſaw all the conſequences of this affair, aſſembled his friends and partiſans to conſult together upon the methods they ſhould uſe to prevent the reparation we had a right to exact, from extending to any inſult upon Spain; and as I was thought to be him, who of all the counſellors was moſt capable of inſpiring the king with a firm reſolution on this head, they agreed that it would be proper for Jouanini to apply to me, and endeavour to ſoften me. 1609.

I READILY complied with his entreaties, not to ſpeak or act upon this occaſion any otherways than merely to execute the king's orders. There was no neceſſity for urging Henry to ſupport his juſt claims, and this Jouanini knew as well as myſelf. I told him, however, that I was much ſurpriſed that a petty prince, ſuch as his maſter, ſhould preſume to regulate the rank of the kings of France and Spain. Jouanini received theſe words as any other ambaſſador would have done upon the like occaſion, and, to ſhew me that I ought to treat his maſter with more reſpect, he entered into a diſcourſe upen his great qualities and his genealogy, making him allied to the houſe of Auſtria, whoſe eulogium he was going to begin. I interrupted him, ſaying, that every other perſon was as capable as himſelf of ſettling the true degree of grandeur of the duke of Florence, ſince it had commenced in our own times; and as for what regarded the houſe of Auſtria, I had no occaſion for any informations; I who reckoned amongſt my anceſtors a daughter of that houſe *, who died a hundred and fifty years ago; but that it was impoſſible to make any compariſon between that family and the auguſt houſe of France.

THIS affair gave riſe to much artful management at court, in which the queen ſeemed to carry too far her tenderneſs for her relations. The

* John de Béthune, Lord of Vandeuil, Locres, &c. firſt of that branch from which the duke of Sully was deſcended, married Jane de Coucy, allied to the houſe of Auſtria. Enguerrand VI. of Couſay, or, to ſpeak more properly, of Guienes, bearing the name and arms of the houſe of Coucy, which was extinct, married Catherine of Auſtria, daughter of Leopold, [illegible] the lady he meant by M. de Sully. He would have ſpoke more correctly had he ſaid ſhe came into the family of Coucy, to which his became allied. He has alſo made another miſtake in point of chronology; for inſtead of ſaying a hundred and fifty, he ſhould have ſaid two hundred and fifty years; this Enguerrand de Coucy, the huſband of Catherine of Auſtria, having been killed at the battle of Crecy in 1346. See the MSS. of S. Marthe, Du-Cheſne, Anſelme, and other genealogiſts. See alſo our foregoing remarks on the houſe of Auſtria.

king

1609. king reproached her several times for it with some severity, and she made me sensible that she accused no other than myself for it. However, this affair produced no worse consequences. The duke of Florence, upon the first complaint the king made to him, protested that he had no part in this imprudent procedure of his ambassador; and declared, that he was willing to make any reparation for it which his majesty should require. He recalled his ambassador, without waiting for the king's request, and commanded him, before his departure, to make an authentic acknowledgment of the fault he had committed, which was published in Rome and in France. Henry was satisfied with this apology, and, to convince the grand duke that he had forgot every thing, he assured him that he would preserve the same sentiments of friendship and esteem for him as for the deceased duke, and gave him the first proof of them by sending to congratulate him upon his advancement to the throne, as all the other princes of Europe had done.

Spain had chosen cardinal Zapata to perform this ceremony, and Henry thought proper to make use of a cardinal likewise, that he might avoid an affront like the former: for it is well known what personal prerogatives cardinals enjoy at the courts of Italian princes. I named the abbe de La-Rochefoucault to him, who was going to Rome to take possession of that dignity; but his majesty for that very reason did not approve of him, as he was apprehensive that this abbe, who they were sensible was not yet named a cardinal, nor would leave France expressly for this embassy, would not be as well received at Florence as an antient cardinal: therefore cardinal Delfin was pitched upon by his majesty, who gave him two thousand crowns for his expences, his eminence not being very rich. Conchini had aspired to this honour, and would have obtained it through the queen's interest; but for the considerations before mentioned, he would not have acquitted himself of this commission at so small an expence: Henry, therefore, was pleased at his disappointment, as well on account of his hatred of the man, as from a principle of frugality.

Policy, and the interest of his great designs, had perhaps more part in the king's complaisance to the duke of Florence, than the consideration of his alliance with him. Those two motives were sufficient to prevent him from ill treating, or even neglecting the most inconsiderable prince. The hundred thousand livres was again ordered to be paid to the chevalier Guidi, the king only requiring that, in the grand duke's receipts, some considerable sums should be deducted, which he had advanced

advanced to Don John de Medicis. With this money, Guidi carried to Florence a gold chain, valued at six hundred crowns, which I presented him with in his majesty's name. Henry, likewise, shewed many other civilities to this Italian; for, whether he remained beyond the Alps, or was again sent to France by his master, the king thought it necessary to gain his friendship. 1609.

De Refuge continued still among the Swiss and Grisons in the quality of our agent; but executed this employment so ill, that I thought myself obliged to reproach him by Villeroi for his inattention to the business he was sent to transact. He durst not answer me himself; but to Villeroi he excused his neglect, in not sending the account of the distribution he had made of the money, which was the first complaint I had against him, by alledging that these accounts should have been sent to me by the two clerks, through whose hands the two former distributions had passed, besides those more particular ones, which the treasurers of the Leagues were to furnish me with; and that I should certainly receive from them those of the next distribution. With regard to the redemption of debts, which was my second charge against him, he, without coming to particulars, told Villeroi, in his answer, that he had discharged some at different times; nor did he give more satisfactory replies to the other reprimands he received.

After Villeroi had shewn me his letter, I wrote to him myself, as I believed the place I filled gave me a right, and even obliged me to do. I told him, that I had not received the four accounts from the clerks he mentioned to Villeroi; but that, if I had, such accounts were not sufficient; but that, since the ordinances for payment came only from him, it belonged to him likewise to draw up accounts, wherein every sum of money should be specified separately, and authenticated by him: that he was obliged to answer for the exactness of the treasurers, and to inform me if they had any blanks in their accounts, which was what was always done by Caumartin, his predecessor: and, likewise, that he should not fail to send me, every quarter, the accounts of the receipts given by the treasurers of the Leagues, with that of the distribution he had made, divided into chapters. He was continually proposing new methods for discharging of debts, for managing his majesty's money, and for confining his employment solely to the finances, in consequence of which he demanded an exact correspondence with the superintendant. It was not possible for him to find an excuse for the silence he affected with me; nor were his excuses for having not paid any debts during his administration

1609. niſtration any better. The thing was not more difficult for him, than the perſon whom he had ſucceeded. I deſired him, therefore, to ſatisfy me as ſoon as poſſible, not by uſing many words and juſtifications, that had no force, and which, in affairs relating to money, could not be received, but by juſt reaſons and good effects; otherways I could not diſpenſe with myſelf from repreſenting him to his majeſty as a man unworthy of the truſt he had confided to him.

It was ſuggeſted to the grand ſignior to have a reſident at Marſeilles for the conveniency of the Granadines who paſſed through that city. The grand vizier mentioned it, by his order, to our ambaſſador at the Porte, and conſulted the aga of Cairo, named Aga Ibrahim-Muſtapha, upon this eſtabliſhment, a man who, in a very ſhort ſpace of time, had acquired great authority, and many dignities at the Porte, and mentioned me to him as the only perſon at the court of France to whom it would be proper to addreſs himſelf. The Aga Muſtapha was directed to ask this favour of the king, in the name of Sultan Achmet, by a letter, to which was added one from Salignac to me, and both were brought by a Granadine, whom the grand vizier choſe for this employment. Salignac gave me information of all that had paſſed at the Porte upon this ſubject; and added, that the grand ſignior would think himſelf highly obliged to the king for the grant of this favour, which could be productive of no inconvenience to him; and that he could not diſpoſe of the place to any one more fit for it than the bearer, whoſe probity and good ſenſe were well known to him, and who had formerly paſſed ſome time at Marſeilles.

One of the moſt remarkable and intereſting events that happened this year in Europe, was the death of the duke of Cleves, who died about the beginning of it; the news of which no ſooner reached the ears of Henry, than he came to the arſenal, where, having barely enquired for me in the firſt court, he paſſed on to the garden, without entering my apartment. When he was anſwered, that I was writing in my cabinet, he turned to Roquelaure and Zamet, and ſaid to them, ſmiling, "Did not you imagine, that they were going to tell "me, that he was either hunting, dreſſing, or with the ladies? Go, "Zamet," ſaid this prince, after having given ſuch praiſe to my diligence as does not become me to repeat, "go, tell him that I am gone "up the great walk, and deſire him to follow me immediately to "the large balcony, where we are not wont to be ſilent; I have much "to ſay to him: for I have heard," continued his majeſty openly, "that

" that the duke of Cleves is dead ; he has left all the world his heirs; 1609.
" the emperor and all the princes of Germany claiming the ſuc-
" ceſſion." Zamet met me coming out of my cloſet, having been already told that the king had paſſed by. The news of the day, and every conſequential incident, afforded matter for above an hour's entertainment in the balcony. His majeſty thought it a ſubject well worth my pains to compoſe, upon what I had to ſay on this head, a memoir, which I ſhall here inſert, with the addition of ſuch informations as I received a few days after from Bongars, who at that time had a particular charge to be ſtrictly watchful of our intereſt in Germany. I ſhewed it all to Henry ; nor do I believe the reader will be diſpleaſed to find an event which all Europe, attentive to his majeſty's deſigns, looked upon as a ſignal of a general war, treated with that perſpicuity it deſerves, both with reſpect to its juſtice and expediency.

But it is firſt neceſſary to explain how this little ſtate, made at the laſt duke's death out of four or five great fiefs, all having the titles of principality, was formed. A count of Juliers, who lived about the year 1130, united this county to that of Berg, by marrying an only daughter of a count of that name. The county of Gueldres was afterwards united to it in the year 1350, by the marriage of Reynold, or Renould, firſt duke of Gueldres, with the heireſs of William, firſt duke of Juliers. About the ſame time, one Adolphus de La-Mark reſigned the archbiſhopric of Cologne, and the biſhopric of Munſter, to ſupport his pretenſions, as heir of Mary his mother, counteſs of Cleves, againſt his couſins, D'Erkel and Perweis, who were alſo ſons of Cleves, but on the female ſide ; and ſucceeded in his claims, either by purchaſing the right of the ſecond ſon, who was nearer of kin by one degree than him, or by the aſſiſtance of the emperor Charles IV. and the ſtates of the country.

The duchy of Cleves having thus paſſed into the houſe of La-Mark, thoſe of Juliers and Berg were afterwards re-united to it in the perſon of John duke of Cleves, count de La-Mark, who, in 1496, married the daughter of William duke of Juliers and Berg. The duchy of Gueldres was at that time diſmembered, becauſe that Arnold D'Egmont, who poſſeſſed it in right of his mother, Mary D'Erkel, daughter to N----- D'Erkel and Jane of Juliers and Gueldres, had ſold it, in 1472, to Charles of Burgundy, with whoſe daughter it went to the houſe of Auſtria ; a diſpoſition that was vainly conteſted by William of Juliers, to whom it was left by will by Charles D'Egmont, grand-

1609. ſon of Arnold, the houſe of Auſtria maintaining itſelf in poſſeſſion of the duchy by force of arms. This cuſtom of feminine fiefs, received in all the cantons, ſupports the opinions of thoſe who believe that the ſeventeen provinces of the Low Countries, which fell into the houſe of Auſtria, by the marriage of Mary of Burgundy with Maximilian, are not the only female fiefs.

The emperor would not allow that Cleves, Juliers, Berg, La-Mark, Ravenſburg, and Raveſtein, of which John-William died poſſeſſed, were female fiefs; on the contrary, the claims, which he pretended to theſe fiefs, were founded only upon proofs, which he was ſaid to have had, of their being all maſculine fiefs. This conteſt was not a point abſolutely new. The contradiction of the diſpoſitions of the different ſovereigns of this little territory, which at different times had been received by their ſubjects, to the declaration of ſome of the emperors upon this head, had long made it a diſputed point, the entire deciſion of which had been by both parties referred to the death of the laſt male heir of that houſe, which at length happened. To canvaſs this point of right more properly, it is neceſſary to ſearch into the archives of that principality, by which means we ſhall be acquainted with the ſtate of the laſt duke's family, and find out with what truth Henry ſaid, that the duke of Cleves's ſucceſſion belonged to almoſt all Germany.

The arguments urged in this affair, by the intereſted princes againſt the emperor, were drawn from the many teſtamentary and matrimonial papers, as well as ſeveral other writings, both public and private, which received their authority from the ſolemn acceptation of the ſtates of the country, the chief of which were theſe: Firſt, an ordinance of Adolphus the firſt duke of Cleves, count de La-Mark, &c. received in all his towns, anno 1418, whereby the principality was given to the duke's eldeſt ſon, and to him only, his brothers being excluded from any ſhare in it; and, in default of male iſſue in him, to his eldeſt daughter, excluſive of other daughters. There was a like edict of William duke of Juliers and Berg, count de Ravenſburg, John duke of Cleves, count de La-Mark, in 1496, on account of the union of their territories, by the marriage of Mary, only daughter of the firſt of theſe princes, with John ſon of the ſecond. There was another ordinance of the ſaid John of Cleves, and Mary of Juliers, in 1526, about which time there was a marriage between their eldeſt daughter Sibylla to John Frederic, count, and ſince elector of Saxony,

to

1609.

to which diſpoſition William himſelf, ſon of John and Mary, ſubſcribed in 1542. In the year 1572, William duke of Juliers and Cleves, &c. father of the laſt duke, accompliſhed a match between his eldeſt daughter Maria Eleonora and Albert Frederic of Brandenburgh, duke of Pruſſia; and he, in the marriage articles, reſerved the entire ſucceſſion to her in the ſame form, in caſe of the extinction of the male line in his family. Two years after, Ann, ſiſter of Maria Eleonora, eſpouſed duke Philip Lewis, the count Palatine at Newburg, with the ſame reſpect to the rights of elderſhip in the female line. The contract was concluded at Deux-ponts, and ſigned by the count Lewis, afterwards elector palatine, by William, landgrave of Heſſe, and duke John, count palatine. The ſame contract was ratified a ſecond time in 1575, by the ſame prince William; at which time, duke Philip Lewis complaining that two hundred thouſand florins, which was the portion of the younger ſiſters, was too ſlight a recompence for renouncing ſuch a ſucceſſion, his kinſman, the duke of Cleves, inſiſted upon an augmentation of one hundred thouſand for each of them, on which condition Ann of Juliers made a ſolemn renunciation of it the ſame year. Duke John count Palatine, de Deux-ponts, about four years afterwards married Magdalen, the third daughter of William of Juliers, making the ſame renunciation in favour of the eldeſt of his three ſiſters as duke Philip Lewis, his eldeſt brother, had done: Lewis, elector Palatine, William, landgrave of Heſſe, Philip Lewis, count Palatine of Newburg, alſo agreed thereto. This was the fourth renunciation of the duke of Newburg. Laſtly, Sibylla, the fourth of theſe princeſſes, married Charles of Auſtria, marquis of Burgaw; upon which occaſion it was natural to ſuppoſe, that the prince their brother would not have forgot to inſiſt upon the Auſtrian prince's making the ſame renunciation with his other three brothers-in-law: nevertheleſs, partly it appeared, that becauſe this prince, who had no children, was become a valetudinarian; partly, that the portion money was not ready; and, laſtly, becauſe the government was managed very ſtrangely; the duke of Cleves died, before his fourth brother in-law had made the ſame renunciation as the reſt. Such were the rights of the four princes, the duke of Brandenburgh and Pruſſia, the count Palatine of Newburg, the count Palatine de Deux-ponts, and the marquis of Burgaw.

He died in 1592.

He died at the age of forty-ſeven.

The emperor alledged the following examples in his favour: In the year 1483, imagining the duchies of Juliers and Berg were, by the death of duke William, fallen to the empire, he beſtowed them, by his own abſolute will, on Albert duke of Saxony, to reward him for

1609. his ſervices. Maximilian, the firſt ſon of Frederic, ratified and extended this donation to the perſon of Erneſt, elector of Saxony, brother of Albert, in the year 1486. He confirmed it again in 1495, as at that time he ſtood in need of the princes of Saxony: but this conſideration no longer ſubſiſting, in the year 1508, the emperor left William of Juliers at liberty to diſpoſe of his own eſtate, either to Mary, or ſuch other of his daughters as he liked beſt. William dying in the year 1511, the elector of Saxony intended to take advantage of the emperor's donation, and deprive the duke of Cleves, who had married the heireſs of it, of Juliers: but when he endeavoured to fix Maximilian on his ſide, that emperor, who feared nothing ſo much as the duke of Cleves, throwing himſelf into the arms of France, refuſed to interfere, and adviſed the elector to patience, giving him only general promiſes that he ſhould loſe nothing thereby. Moreover, when John Frederic, elector of Saxony, married Sibylla, daughter of John duke of Cleves and Juliers, in the year 1526, Charles V. expreſsly confirmed the right of that princeſs, and acted in purſuance thereof: for when in 1546, he made peace with duke William of Juliers, whom he had vanquiſhed, on condition, that the duke ſhould marry Mary of Auſtria, daughter of Ferdinand, king of the Romans and Hungary, he allowed in the marriage contract of this princeſs, who was his niece, that her daughter ſhould ſucceed to the duchies of Juliers, &c. in caſe ſhe ſhould have no ſons; which was alſo admitted after him by Maximilian II. in 1566. It is true that the reigning emperor, tho' ſtrongly ſolicited, in 1602, by the duke of Newburg, to confirm that conſtitution of his predeceſſors, conſtantly refuſed it; and the only reaſon he gave for ſuch refuſal was, that he could not pretend to prejudice any perſon's right.

After this, the reader will eaſily diſcern a very diſtinguiſhing difference between the juſtice of the pretenſions of the two parties, much to the advantage of the lawful heir, but very unfavourable to the Auſtrians; the former grounded their claim on a ſeries of regulations unanimouſly and uniformly received; the latter only producing grants of pure power, which do little honour to the Aulic council, and moreover, by their variation and contradiction, ſo unſtable as ſcarcely to found any right.

However, the duke of Cleves was no ſooner dead, than each party began to think ſeriouſly of maintaining its right. The emperor Rodolphus gave the inveſtiture of Juliers and Cleves to the archduke Leopold

opold of Auſtria, a ſtep he would not have taken, had it not been to be beforehand with his moſt chriſtian majeſty. This ſtep was made in the name of Leopold, who declared by deputy to the king, that his intention in entering upon Cleves, was neither to do any thing that could be in the leaſt prejudicial to his majeſty's intereſt, nor yet to treat the princes, his competitors, with rigour; that he ſhould be contented, provided they behaved to his imperial majeſty as they ought upon this occaſion, and entreated the king not to enter into a diſcuſſion of an affair in which he himſelf was alone concerned with them. 1609.

Henry's anſwer to this deputy was in very general terms. He was ſurpriſed, that all this time he had heard nothing of the other princes, who ought to have been the firſt to addreſs him; nor was he leſs ſo at the information received from Hottoman, that none of them thought of levying troops, as if they could hope to obtain any thing otherwiſe than by force of arms; but they ſoon ſaw what part they had to take: and if it was true that his majeſty, in ſlightly reproaching them for their ſilence, took the firſt ſtep, they followed it ſo well, that, having invited Boiſſiſe, Bongars, and the king's other agents to their council, they appointed an ambaſſador to entreat his majeſty, in their name, to ſupport them againſt the archduke, or rather againſt the emperor, which ambaſſador had good reaſon to be ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of his commiſſion. But, before we give a detail of enſuing facts, let us make ſome reflections upon the real political intereſt of France at this juncture.

These ſix cantons or ſmall provinces, Cleves, Juliers, Berg, La-Mark, Ravensburg, and Raveſtein, were ſo far from being indifferent to France, that ſhe was rather intereſted in them in a very peculiar manner, for ſeveral reaſons, of which their ſtrength and riches were not the leaſt. They lay upon our frontiers; the competitors for them were not only near, but formidable neighbours; at leaſt the emperor was ſo. This was reaſon ſufficient not to let them fall into every hand. The war, raiſed for their poſſeſſion, may become general throughout Europe, conſequently reach us againſt our will. This would certainly be the caſe, were the United Provinces, whom they particularly and neceſſarily influence, only concerned; their connection being ſo evident, that giving theſe diſputed provinces to our friends, is, as it were, taking all Flanders from our enemies; as, on the contrary, leaving them open to the invaſion of the houſe of Auſtria, were to expoſe the whole United Provinces to deſtruction: for I know not how otherways to call the

1609. the neceſſity to which they would be reduced, had they none but enemies for their neighbours, whoſe favour they muſt court by repeated ſacrifices, which muſt terminate abſolutely in their ruin. The truth of this was never more fully proved than from the diſadvantages under which the States laboured, when the duke of Cleves, even but privately, ſupported the Spaniards. Is it prudent to ſuffer ſo uſeful and ſo expenſive a work to be deſtroyed, when about to be completed? and let me add with ſincerity, a work which, in ſpite of all our efforts, has, by the laſt treaty between Spain and the States, been not a little ſhocked.

If from this point of view we paſs to his moſt chriſtian majeſty's vaſt deſigns upon all Europe, what better means is there of engaging in them thoſe powers, who could not be otherwiſe reconciled to them? This is the ſureſt way of attaching to us all the princes of the empire, of reſtoring the liberty and dignity of the Germanic body, giving a mortal blow to the imperial authority, and ſtriking the whole houſe of Auſtria with conſternation: and this advantage, which France, for her own private intereſt, ought at any rate to have purchaſed, ſhe ſhall enjoy, as the effect of diſintereſted generoſity towards perſecuted princes, without either jealouſy or envy.

To this it may be objected, that theſe princes have hitherto ſhewn themſelves very averſe to entertaining theſe notions of us, if we may judge from their evident unwillingneſs to be obliged to us; even when forced to allow that, without our aſſiſtance, they can do nothing: but after all, this is no more than what unavoidably happens in the beginning of a difficult complicated affair, wherein many perſons are concerned; for, in ſuch ſchemes, their firſt conſideration is to weigh their intereſt with their powers. Even when we know what is to be done, we are not agreed with reſpect to the manner of doing it; eſpecially in confederacies, where opinions multiply in proportion to the number of parties concerned: beſides, I inſiſt, that this irreſolution of the German princes, from whatever motives it proceeds, ought not to prevent his majeſty from taking part with them. I lay it down as a maxim, that in all important affairs, which tend to the general good, it is to the cauſe only, and not to the perſons we muſt be attached; for the former preſents but one ſingle view, and that always the ſame; whereas the latter is ſo ſubject to change, and preſents ſuch a variety of hateful objects, that, cloſely to conſider them, would give us a diſinclination to the moſt uſeful and neceſſary enterpriſes. Politically ſpeaking, we ought always to be content with having removed obſtacles, without being deterred.

terred from proceeding, by any difficulties that may remain, and time of itſelf will remove: but with this reſtriction, that I ſpeak of deſigns whereof the contrivers need not be aſhamed; ſuch as was ours in ſupporting the heir to the duke of Cleves, and ſettling the ballance of Europe. We have then only to begin; each moment will furniſh us with freſh reſources: the princes now ſo backward and irreſolute, will acquire courage from time and the fluſh of ſucceſs; and the ardour of war will inſpire them with thoſe ſentiments of our generoſity, which they are to be condemned for not having at firſt entertained. 1609.

BEHOLD a motive in favour of thoſe who, tho' they approve of our generoſity, yet are reduced perhaps to wiſh that it may not be merely gratuitous on our ſide. Whatever ſucceſs our arms may have in conjunction with thoſe princes who form pretenſions on the ſucceſſion of Cleves, yet ſtill theſe princes have certain fears that, one day or other, they ſhall be diveſted of all their poſſeſſions by the emperor, whenever the ſituation of things come to change. Is it a raſh concluſion to imagine, that this fear, joined to the reflections they made, on the difficulty of preſerving provinces divided amongſt them into ſo many fragments, ſo little conducive to their reſpective utility, ſo deſirably tempting to their enemies, eſpecially to a king of France of an enterpriſing nature, ſhould not induce them, one day or other, to enter into an accommodation with his moſt chriſtian majeſty, whether they received the value of theſe territories in ready money, or in ſome equivalent in tracts of land, for example, in the heart of France, as in Berry, Bourbon Marche, and Auvergne? Now, ſuppoſing this to happen, what advantages muſt accrue to France in this double connection of intereſt and dependency, which will unite part of Germany with her for ever? And what cannot be denied, is, that the preſent ſuccours, which his majeſty ſhall grant to theſe princes, will be a pledge to them to demand them for the future, in order to preſerve themſelves in their new acquiſitions, a requeſt which the king can pay on demand. Many people may think, that what I have been ſaying is purely chimerical; and perhaps I may ſurpriſe ſeveral, by informing them, that the thing, far from being abſolutely impoſſible, as has been imagined, had been long in agitation by third perſons; and that on the day it produced itſelf, by the concurrence of cauſes ſo favourable, was on the point of being propoſed to the princes concerned, and might very probably have been accepted by them.

BUT

1609. But to leave these public and private considerations, let us consider the thing more simply. The king of France had already engaged himself to undertake the support of those princes; had neglected nothing to attach them to him; had offered them his assistance at all times; had declared in terms sufficiently high, that he would allow no one to use them ill; and had also ordered his troops to advance to the frontiers; so that it was a point of honour and justice of long continuance, and it was inconsistent with his character to recede. Our kings have been rarely insensible to this impulse of generosity, which induces them to support unfortunate princes. This was not precisely the present case. The persons in question had rendered real services to his majesty, and shewn on all occasions, that nothing but want of power hindered them from performing greater. It became Henry, therefore, as a friend, and as one obliged, to recollect all that they had done for him in his days of distress. When Francis I. aided Philip landgrave of Hesse, uncle to the present, to restore duke Ulric to the possession of the duchy of Wirtenburg; when Henry II. joined Maurice, elector of Saxony, to deliver the German princes oppressed by Charles V. their personal honour only, and that of their crown, induced them to take these steps under very considerable inconveniences. They had fewer inducements than Henry the Great, the motive of affection and gratitude only, more powerful indeed than any others.

And here I may positively contradict those who complain of involving his majesty, out of pure gallantry, in a war with Spain, capable of inflaming all Christendom, merely on account of some foreign interest, which might be adjudged without drawing the sword. These are equally ignorant of the nature of the thing, and the consequences of the undertaking. They will at length allow, that, in the present conjuncture, the enterprise, which has for its object the assurance of the succession of Cleves to the true heirs, is an affair of so prompt execution, that the public will hardly know of it, but by the effects: that Spain, by making peace with her proper subjects, a peace by which, such is their ruinous situation, they are bettered in no respect, hath afforded us a proof of such a political weakness, and exhausted condition, that she must submit to the laws of an imposed neutrality: that the emperor is no longer in a condition to dispute with us, he being defrauded of his succours from one part of Germany; and we, on the other hand, having more means to act than we had for a considerable time. In short, it is a scheme which ought to cost France little more than

than to say she will execute it. The event hath justified all this beyond contradiction. 1609.

This therefore is properly an affair of no consequence, if we consider it as respecting only the business of Cleves, and they who talk in another manner, do it certainly only for this reason, that, speaking according to the rules of politics, it is only an introduction to another more illustrious and extensive, which Europe has observed to be formed by his majesty, for the depression of the house of Austria. I am so sincere, as readily to allow that business must be done at once, and such was the advice I gave to my master, who was of the same opinion with myself. Of this I can only convince those, who, like me, will examine the affair without passion or prejudice, and of those men I hold myself certain, because their opinion will be the result of every reflection that can be made upon the different schemes by which this design may be carried on. I will give an account of them, such as they rose in my own mind, when I was most deeply engaged in those considerations.

The first opinion, and the least plausible, is to sit quiet and see the parties concerned, fight out their quarrel, or at least assist our friends only with our councils. As policy will always direct us not to stand unarmed to look upon those that are at war, it would be necessary to keep a body of troops upon the frontier, if for no other purpose than to take advantage of every change which any moment might produce. By taking this side, therefore, we make no alteration in our expences, but that we are obliged to continue them longer than if, by engaging vigorously, we should put an end to it at a blow.

I say the same thing of the second scheme, which appears on the first view sufficiently specious, that is, to support the princes against the house of Austria; not openly, but by secret means, as we have already done in the war of Flanders. The peace subsisting in other respects among all the other powers of Europe, there was reason to fear, lest these private succours should be too weak to enable our allies to resist the two branches of the house of Austria united against them, which is the end to be kept always in view, as is generally agreed; and, in this case, we should have been obliged to keep at all the three points of land where their contested country borders upon France and Flanders, a body of forces consisting at least of four thousand foot, and eight hundred horse, advantageously posted upon our own ground, or in the neutral country, where, however, they were to have performed

1609. no act of hostility, but only have guarded the passages, kept the enemy at a distance, and prevented the total ruin of those in whose favour we engaged: in this case the expence would have been great, and its consequence only the protraction of that war, which, by taking it vigorously in hand, might be finished at a blow. It is said in a political proverb; "He that gives soon, gives twice:" to which I shall add another; "He that gives only half gives twice, and gives nothing." Of this we have a late example in the revolt of the United Provinces, that this manner of supporting an ally, which upon the whole is equally chargeable with a quick and powerful assistance, has no other effect than to force them soon or late upon an accommodation, when we might have withdrawn them all at once from the dominion of Spain. If this be all the advantage which our alliance will procure to the princes of Germany, we oblige them but little, or not at all, there being this difference between them and Holland, that under whatever pretensions a treaty is offered them, it can only be intended as a lure, by which the emperor will draw them within his power, and destroy them; and who can tell that we shall not ourselves feel the consequences? It was a just expression of Bongars, "That Leopold in Juliers, is a ferret in a warren." This scheme therefore is of no other use than to save the king a little personal trouble, who at most would be under no necessity to go farther than Chalons or Rheims.

Between this plan and that of a general combination against the house of Austria, another has been contrived of a middle kind, of which the last Savoy expedition may be given as an instance. In this it is laid down, as a supposition, that the allies on each part, act as if they had agreed amongst themselves to support the cause only so far as may be necessary to gain the point openly debated, and without pretending to infringe what they had promised for themselves in the treaty of Vervins. If this is not a mere supposition, it appears at least to be a scheme of measures that would be long, expensive, and perplexing, which must begin by a discussion of the proportion of troops, which each of the allies must furnish; and then an enquiry after funds that may support these troops for two years at least, of which the first year, and the three first months of the next, will be spent in going and coming, and settling operations. The winter is rough in that country where the war is to be carried on; and, that the army may not be ruined, the cold must be at an end before any action commences. In an enterprize where the king will not be at the head as chief of the army, it will be sufficient for him to put the troops designed against Cleves under a prince, or a marshal of France; but he must, nevertheless, make the

the proper preparations, and advance the neceſſary money, of which the greater ſums will be required, as he will have the appearance, however he may endeavour to avoid it, of ſupporting all this burden alone, or nearly alone. He will be likewiſe obliged to keep three thouſand men in Dauphiné, and the ſame number in Provence, in Languedoc, and in Guienne. I can then ſee nothing better to be done, than to chuſe a certain number of places ſo ſituated as to be able to defend one another, and to ſerve as a chain to join the country of Cleves with France and the United Provinces; and to fortify theſe cities, which will again be a conſiderable expence. 1609.

Thus all theſe reflections bring us back to the firſt expedient, as the moſt efficacious, to keep meaſures no longer with Spain; to treat the houſe of Auſtria as the general enemy of Europe; to raiſe it rivals and adverſaries on every ſide; to pour ſtrong armies upon it; to claim back the country of Cleves; and, when we have made the demand, to do ourſelves juſtice, by ſeizing upon it, and upon all the places which ſhall be judged ſufficient for the common cauſe, upon the ſide of Luxemburg, Limburg, Aix, &c. at the ſame inſtant to extend our forces, and cover the frontiers of the Alps and Pyrenees: in a word, to ſet up the ſtandard, and ſhow to all the world that the day is at laſt come, for which the king of France has been preparing ſo many years, and with ſo much care; that this prince will ſhow himſelf now proceeding under the direction of honour, armed to revenge one part of the world, for the attacks of an unjuſt and haughty power; and who then will refuſe to follow him? We are aſſured by our correſpondents of almoſt all Italy and Germany; we take along with us the United Provinces, ſhewing them their enemy by our power removed from their frontiers; we ſhall untie the hands and the tongues of thoſe powers who are now reſtrained by fear; and, if our endeavours are not equally ſupported on all ſides, the general reſentment, which we may now make uſe of, will ſecure us from being thwarted by more than a very ſmall number.

It muſt be expected that the houſe of Auſtria will put heaven and earth into commotion to put aſide, or to ſuſtain a blow that threatens her ruin; but when an exact view is taken of all the ſupport which ſhe can be ſuppoſed to have, either from herſelf or her allies, if it be generally confeſſed that Europe is in a ſtate of agitation from which it cannot be ſet free, but by long and cruel wars, which will perhaps reſtore its liberty, and perhaps take it away for ever; can ſhe chuſe a better time for the determination of her fate than this, when the hazard is leaſt, and the ſucceſs moſt likely? This is what I have now to ſay,

1609. without anticipating the particulars which I have promiſed to give of the great deſigns of Henry IV. and the manner in which they were to be put in execution.

It was the partiſans of Spain, the ſupporters of the Old League, the enemies of the proteſtants, and the diſaffected French, jealous of the king's glory, and the kingdom's proſperity, who uſed their utmoſt endeavours to diſſuade his majeſty from engaging in thoſe great deſigns, which he had formed; but, finding that all their efforts had proved ineffectual, and that he was upon the point of carrying them into execution, they exerted all the arts which yet remained. They took advantage of Henry's propenſity to pleaſure, and ſought to raiſe a conflict in his mind, between his deſire of fame, and thoſe inclinations which made a ſoft and voluptuous life too alluring. Again they endeavoured to fill him with ſuſpicions of the whole body of proteſtants in general, and of me in particular: they placed before his eyes his kingdom torn to pieces by factions, who eagerly expected a war, at a time when they might act their treaſons with impunity; and the princes his aſſociates, as artful deceivers, who laughed at his vain projects. There were ſome moments when Henry, tho' upon his guard againſt this ſort of artifice, ſuffered himſelf to be ſhaken by it; and I myſelf perhaps contributed to diſcourage him without knowing it, by repreſenting to him, that a prince, who had expanded his heart to entertain deſigns ſo noble, ought to begin the execution of them, by ſhutting out all fondneſs for trifling amuſements and expences, which had only mere convenience in view: that, on a like occaſion, Ferdinand and Iſabella of Caſtile, and ſeveral of our own kings, had leſſened the expences of their houſhold; as likewiſe thoſe of the queen. In a word, I told him, that he ought no more to think of pleaſure, but in vanquiſhing his enemies; or, at leaſt, till victory was his own.

It happened very fortunately to fix the wavering mind of Henry, that the German princes, of their own accord, and in oppoſition to the emperor, held an aſſembly at Hall, in Suabia, to deliberate upon the means of reſtoring the circles to their former liberty. They met there on the day appointed, to the number of eighteen or twenty *. The Venetians, the prince of Orange, the States of Holland, and the duke of Savoy, who had at laſt taken a reſolution to engage in the

* See the names of theſe princes, M. de Boiſſiſe's ſpeech, the manner and reſolutions of this aſſembly, in Vol. 9765, MSS. R--- Mem. d'etat de Villeroi, Vol. III. p. 230, & ſeq.---Merc. Franc. anno 1610. Siri, ib. Vol IV. p. 68.

common

common cauſe, ſent deputies thither to repreſent them; the manifeſtos, which were carefully circulated, joined to the public diſcourſe; and what was privately intimated by Boiſſiſe, and other agents of his majeſty, had ſo good an effect, that it was publicly deliberated to ſtop the progreſs of the houſe of Auſtria; and it was reſolved, that ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to his moſt chriſtian majeſty, in the name of the aſſembled powers, to offer him all their forces, and to demand a promiſe of his, when required. Theſe ambaſſadors were appointed, and ſet out directly. 1609. John de Th meryde Boiſſiſe.

HENRY had juſt given them their firſt audience, when he came to the arſenal to tell me all they had ſaid and offered, and to conſult with me upon the anſwer he ſhould give to their propoſals. He deſired me to conſider the matter attentively, while he went to dine at Zamet's; adding, that he would return, and paſs part of the afternoon with me in my garden, where he appointed me to meet him.

WE met there accordingly, and Henry, taking my hand, ordered every one to retire, and went to the terrace, which was the place where we uſually held our moſt ſerious converſations. "Well, ſaid his ma-"jeſty, what do you think of our affairs; for ſome are of one opi-"nion, and ſome of another." This appearing to me a favourable opportunity to confirm him in his reſolution, I ſhewed him plainly, that thoſe who oppoſed it were doubtleſs excited to do ſo by ſecret motives, which I ſeemed to be ignorant of: ſince, if we examined things in three principal points of view, namely, with regard to his own perſon, the ſtate of affairs within his kingdom, and of thoſe without, there were no difficulties to be comprehended; for, without flattery, he was, in the opinion of the French nation, ſuperior to the greateſt warriors and ſtateſmen of his age; and that ſuch a ſchool could not fail of producing men excellent in both capacities, as it had already done, which would aſſiſt him in bearing the weight of a new burden he was preparing for himſelf and them. With regard to the affairs at home, there were neither princes, grandees, nor cities in his kingdom, which were in a condition, who were diſpoſed, or had the means of retarding his enterpriſe, much leſs preſume to attack him, when they ſaw him at the head of all the forces of Europe: and, beſides this, he was going to open a theatre where thoſe braggarts would find occaſions of ſignalizing themſelves much more gloriouſly than in dark plots, where nothing was to be gained but infamy: and, laſtly, as to the affairs without the kingdom, the difficulty of uniting ſo many powers,

1609. powers in the ſame deſign, which had hitherto been conſidered as the only one to be feared, would be happily removed in a very ſhort time.

" And now, Sire, ſaid I, all that remains to be conſidered, is, " whether you have the means of continuing the war as long as it is " neceſſary upon the ſame foot as you are going to begin it: for I ſee " plainly, that France is the hinge upon which all muſt turn: there- " fore, purſued I, I think it fit to tell your majeſty, that with regard " to the chief point, which is money, provided your war continues " only three years, and that you have not occaſion for more than forty " thouſand men, I will ſupply you with money ſufficient for them, " without laying any new tax upon your people; and as for other " things, ſuch as proviſions, ammunition, and artillery, I will ſhew you " ſuch a quantity of them, that you ſhall acknowledge there is " enough; and then, I believe, we ſhall make war in ſuch a manner, " that of the three ſtandards, white, black, and red *, we ſhall not " need to diſplay any but the firſt, and that once for all: the fate of " thoſe who firſt reſiſt, will be a leſſon for all the reſt." " But not to " interrupt you," ſaid his majeſty to me, " pray how much money " have I? for I never yet knew exactly." " How much do you think " you have, Sire?" replied I. " Have I twelve millions?" ſaid he. " A little more," ſaid I. " How! fourteen?" reſumed he, going on, ſtill augmenting it two millions more each time, becauſe my conſtant anſwer was a little more, till he came to thirty millions. " Oh! I " aſk no more," cried he, embracing me in a tranſport of joy. " I " have drawn up a paper, ſaid I, by which your majeſty will find that " you may depend upon a new fund of forty millions extraordinary, " without encroaching upon the uſual expences of your houſhold and " the ſtate, upon a ſuppoſition, however, that my œconomy is not " traverſed." " And where is this paper?" ſaid Henry precipitately. " I will give it you, Sire, I replied, whenever you pleaſe, written " with my own hand."

I afterwards ſhewed his majeſty a way how to be aſſiſted, both in men and money, by his allies, provided that he would continue fixed in this part of his deſigns, in purſuance of which, as we had

* By this expreſſion, the author means, that no prince or ſtate would refuſe to join their forces to thoſe of the confederates, after their intention was once made, and after they had puniſhed the firſt who ſhould endeavour to oppoſe them.

agreed,

agreed, he would enrich them all with the conquests he gained from the house of Austria, without reserving any thing for himself. "How! "said Henry, would you have me expend sixty millions in conquering "territories for others, and keep nothing for myself? And pray what "is to become of Spain? you say nothing of her." "Spain, Sire, "I replied, is to remain as she is: we must not take any thing from "her king: she must serve to keep all those whom your liberalities "have enriched under the shadow of your protection, a king of Spain "being always powerful enough to oppress them separately; when no "longer supported by you, they will never fail in the gratitude and "respect they owe you." I likewise, without having recourse to that general maxim, that too great extent of territory rather weakens than strengthens a government, easily brought Henry to acknowledge, that many inconveniencies would attend his appropriating the conquered countries to himself; that it would be a subject for eternal hatred and jealousy; and, all things considered, the greatest and most solid advantage he could acquire by his conquests, if he distributed them with equity, was, a right of being regarded as the sole benefactor and arbitrator of Europe. 1609.

What I most earnestly recommended to him, was, to guard against every possible reverse of fortune; as, for example, if he should be abandoned or betrayed by his allies, to have it always in his power to bring back his armies into his own kingdom, not only without danger, but honour, to facilitate which, nothing was more necessary than to build forts at proper distances on the road of Cleves. To this piece of advice, I added another, which was to provide great plenty of provisions in the neighbourhood of those provinces; for, besides that it was not easy to carry them through a country so enclosed and crossed by rivers as that was, the whole canton was divided among several little princes, who had already gathered in the fruits of the present harvest, great part of it being pillaged before: that it would be scarce possible for an army to subsist there fifteen days, without being obliged to have recourse to the magazines of those princes, where every thing would be set at so high a price, that all his money would scarcely suffice to purchase what was wanted. I therefore told his majesty, that I would, if he consented to it, send for the merchants with whom I used formerly to treat, when I had any great enterprises in hand, and would agree with them for every thing we had occasion for at a reasonable price.

The

1609. The king, at parting, collecting in one view all that I had ſaid to him, told me, that he was going to conſider of the reſolution it was proper for him to take, and deſired that I would not neglect to examine every thing with the deepeſt attention; that he would come very often and confer with me; and that I might begin to make all thoſe preparations I had mentioned, by which I concluded that I had obtained part, at leaſt, of what I deſired.

I sent for the merchants of Liege, Aix, Triers, and Cologne, with whom I made the following agreement: That they ſhould furniſh me, in the ſpace of three months, with all ſorts of ammunition, proviſions, forage, and warlike ſtores, and ſend them to that part of the frontier near Cleves, which I ſhould appoint. I had drawn up an exact liſt of every thing which was neceſſary for an army of twenty-five thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe, at the ſame price they bore in the preſent fair the month of October: that I, on my ſide, ſhould advance them the ſum of ſix hundred thouſand crowns, which ſhould remain in their hands a year at leaſt, giving them at Paris a million for ſecurity of this ſum, which was to indemnify them for the expences of purchaſe, ſelling at loſs, waſte, and other accidents.

The king was ſo well pleaſed with my proceedings, that he ordered me to put the finiſhing hand to them, and, in the overflowings of his joy, recounted all to Sillery, Villeroi, and Jeannin, and afterwards to the count of Soiſſons, cardinal Joyeuſe, the duke of Epernon, and ſeveral others, ſome of whom applied themſelves with ſuch malice and dexterity to make him believe that I had drawn him into my ſnares, by ſending thoſe magazines out of the kingdom, which I had long wiſhed for an opportunity of doing, to appropriate them to myſelf, that this prince, tho' already prejudiced againſt every thing which came from them, at length ſwallowed the poiſon; and when he ſaw me, ſome days afterwards, aſked me if the contract for proviſions was ſigned. I replied it was not; becauſe I thought it a thing of too much conſequence to be done without a previous application to the council, which had not met ſince. Henry, who in this procedure ought to have found nothing but exactneſs, thought it had an appearance of falſhood and artful precaution, which confirmed his ſuſpicions, and therefore bid me not conclude the bargain till I had an order from him. "Sire," replied I, ſtill ignorant of his meaning, "the merchants will not "ſtay." "If they will not ſtay," reſumed he, with the ſame dryneſs

Francis de Joyeuſe.

and reſerve, " they may go back again." This opened my eyes, and anger being now rouzed in my breaſt as well as his, " I begin to per- " ceive, Sire, ſaid I, that you have ſomething in your thoughts which " I am not to know: I ſhall ſend the merchants back, ſince you will " have it ſo; but you will be pleaſed to remember this affair another " time." Saying this we ſeparated with great coldneſs on both ſides. 1609.

No more mention was made of the proviſions till a long time after, when the king coming to the arſenal to confer with me upon other affairs, before ſome of his courtiers, as uſual, took me aſide, and ſaid, " I have been informed that the States of Holland will ſend ambaſſa- " dors to me in a few days, to ſettle all that we are to do: in the mean " time, let us make the neceſſary preparations, that nothing may be " wanting on our part." This was all he ſaid then. The deputies arrived ſoon after with letters from the prince of Orange and the council of the States, for his majeſty and for me. Henry opened them all, and finding that they aſſured him they would anſwer for the ſucceſs of his enterprize, provided he would take the precaution to have all the neceſſary proviſions upon the ſpot, giving him the ſame advice on this occaſion as I myſelf had done, he began to be diſabuſed, and, cloſing my letters again, gave them to L'Oſerai to carry to me. I found out this artifice immediately, and thought it allowable to return it with another for as good a purpoſe. I ſealed my letters, after I had read them as he had done, and agreed with L'Oſerai that he ſhould bring them to me, as if for the firſt time, when the king, who was to come in the afternoon to the arſenal, was with me.

Henry came accordingly, and began the converſation, by aſking me if I had received letters from Meſſieurs the States: " For I am in- " formed, ſaid he, that there are ſome for you." " I have not got " them, Sire," replied I. " You will have them ſoon, reſumed the " king; for I have given orders to have them brought to you, and " mine alſo: but, in the mean time, let us talk about the proviſions; " for we ſhall go at a time when there is none to be got." " I fore- " ſaw this long ago, Sire, ſaid I, and I would have given proper or- " ders for every thing that was neceſſary: you yourſelf not only ap- " proved of my diſpatch, but even commanded it. However you " have, by the malice of my enemies, been perſuaded to alter your re- " ſolution, the inconveniency of which will, I am afraid, fall heavy " upon you; for that which might have been had eaſily and at a mo-

1609. "derate price, at that time, which was the ſeaſon of harveſt, will be "very dearly and with difficulty purchaſed now; and, what is ſtill "worſe, I know not whether any one will be bold enough to un- "dertake to furniſh with proviſions an army of more than an hundred "and fifty thouſand men, and thirty thouſand horſes." "Who will "undertake it? replied Henry; why you, unleſs you have an incli- "nation to offend me." "I would rather die than offend you, Sire, "ſaid I; but you ought not to lay your commands upon me to do "what is now become impoſſible, ſince you would not permit me to "do it at a proper time." "Let us ſpeak no more of what is paſt, "reſumed the king; think only of the future. You muſt undertake "this affair yourſelf, and, to your other poſts and employments, add "that of ſuperintendant of proviſions. I deſire, as a friend, that you "will accept of this office; for I know, if you act as you have always "done, you will acquit yourſelf well in it."

I REPRESENTED to his majeſty very ſeriouſly, that I had already ſufficient buſineſs upon my hands in the care of the artillery, which alone, and in the preſent conjuncture eſpecially, might employ four perſons; beſides which, I had all the ordinary expences of the ſtate to provide, thoſe of his majeſty's houſhold, the queen's and their chil- dren; as likewiſe of the fortifications, buildings, and other public works; and, laſtly, for all his troops, either at home or abroad. "How! interrupted Henry, do you really refuſe then to grant a re- "queſt, which I make you as one friend would another? If you con- "tinue thus obſtinate, I ſhall believe that you no longer love me; "and that you really nouriſh thoſe deſigns, which, for a long time, "endeavours have been uſed to perſuade me you do." "What, Sire," ſaid I haſtily (taking advantage of the words which had eſcaped him) "am I then indeed ſo unhappy, that, when I ſacrifice my life for your "ſervice, your honour, and your fame, you ſhould ſtill return, and, on "the ſlighteſt ſuggeſtions, to ſuſpicions of my fidelity. This, I con- "feſs, wounds me cruelly, deprives me of all courage to ſerve you; "and will at length put an end to my life." "Well," reſumed Henry, who had reſolved to expoſe me to all kinds of aſſaults, "ſince you "think in this manner, I ſhall eaſily find a remedy for all theſe diffi- "culties: we muſt break off our journey, paſs the time as well as we "can, and live in peace with all the world; agree with all parties, and "give them money to make them eaſy: for we have amaſſed a great "quantity, and we will uſe it for that purpoſe." "It is well reſolved "on, Sire, replied I; and, for myſelf, I declare, that I am ſatisfied, "ſince

" ſince it will free me from many vexations, watchings, labours, re- 1609.
" proaches, and dangers."

HENRY interrupted me here with an emotion of rage he was not able to reſtrain, and reproached me with being a diſſembler. " I " know, ſaid he, that what you have ſaid, is far from being your real " thoughts or deſires: it is you who would be moſt grieved if we do " not make war, which you have ſo long and ſo earneſtly preſſed me " to do." " It is true, Sire, replied I, that I think fortune preſents " you with a favourable opportunity to acquire honour and fame, if you " are diſpoſed to improve it; but, if not, it is fit that your ſervants " ſhould pretend not to ſee it. I added, that his great deſigns not " only turned upon his own perſon, but alſo depended ſo entirely upon " himſelf, that, as he alone would ſecure the ſucceſs, ſo likewiſe, by " one ſingle geſture, or word imprudently uttered, he might ruin " them for ever." At length, having endeavoured to hit upon a medium which might compoſe the difference between us, " If your ma- " jeſty, ſaid I, will be pleaſed to commit the ſuperintendance of the " proviſions to Meſſieurs Jeannin and Caumartin, I promiſe to aſſiſt " them with my advice, my labour, and my credit; and alſo with men " and money, with a ſollicitude as great as if my life depended upon " it: but, if I undertake the office alone, you will never be perſuaded " to believe, that the difficulties which may ariſe have any other cauſe " than my negligence or want of attachment to you." " Well! re- " plied Henry, I ſhall ſee what is to be done. However, if thoſe " perſons will not engage in the affair without you, you muſt prepare " to labour in conjunction with them, unleſs you reſolve to ſee me " break off my journey." L'Oſerai entering that moment with the letters, he received a ſevere reprimand from the king, for neglecting to bring them to me before.

FROM this time his majeſty was continually employed in making preparations for his great enterpriſe. The councils which were held from thenceforwards were kept very ſecret, and moſt frequently met at the arſenal. The king always admitted M. de Vendôme to theſe councils; and laboured to inſtruct him, as well in all affairs of ſtate, as of war. He perceived, that there was a little coldneſs between the prince and myſelf; and, being reſolved to reconcile us, took the following method to effect it: " I have been informed," ſaid he to me one day, " that " my ſon de Vendôme, and yours, are at variance with each other. I " am deſirous of reconciling them: ſend for your ſon to-morrow morn-

1609. "ing at eight o'clock into your cloſet; I will bring my ſon thither at "that hour, and talk to them both." Accordingly, when we were met, Henry took the young men, each by the hand, and ſaid to them, "You ſee how greatly I love M. de Sully, and with what freedom I "live with him. I would have you two on the ſame terms with each "other, and follow our advice, we who are old and experienced, to "the end, that your youth may ſupport itſelf with the prop of our "age. And you, my ſon, honour and reſpect the duke of Sully as "myſelf; and often viſit him, that you may learn from him the art of "war, and method to be uſed in buſineſs of ſtate: through his affec-"tion for me, he will communicate his knowledge to you as freely as "to his own ſon, whom I deſire you would love as your brother; and "I command you both to bury in oblivion whatever may have occa-"ſioned any abatement of your former friendſhip."

I saw with pleaſure ſome new obſtacle removed every day. The alliance, which had been propoſed to the duke of Savoy*, and which had been already mentioned, was eagerly accepted. The king of Sweden offered himſelf as an ally to France; and, to connect the intereſts of both crowns more ſecurely, gave the king to underſtand, that it would be in France where he would ſeek for a wife for the prince his ſon, who, young as he was, courageouſly ſeconded all his brave reſolutions. The kings of England and Denmark were already above half gained. The proteſtants of Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Sileſia, and the Upper Auſtria, ſtimulated by our agents, and yet more determined by the cruelties which the emperor's miniſters, excited by the jeſuits, practiſed upon them, had lately aſſured us, that, as ſoon as the war ſhould be declared, they would make a powerful diverſion in thoſe borders of Germany. We found by letters from Bongars, and the landgrave of Heſſe, that the elector of Saxony would not be prevailed upon to take part againſt the emperor; but, to make amends for this bad news, the elector of Bavaria entered into an unlimited engagement with us, upon condition that he ſhould be choſen to ſucceed the

* See the treaty concluded this year between France and Savoy, in Nevers's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 832, and the definitive treaty ſigned at Bruſol, the 25th of April, in the year following; by which the king of France engages, amongſt other things, to put the duke of Savoy in poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe, ib. p. 880. This treaty is ſet forth, according to the Italian original, by Vittorio Siri, ib. Vol. II. p. 236. But this writer contradicts himſelf, by ſaying, Vol. I. p. 512, that it was the duke of Sully who negotiated this agreement between France and Savoy; and aſſerting afterwards, p. 566, that it was the duke of Sully's intention the duke of Savoy ſhould reap no other advantage from it, than only to obtain the protection of France.

emperor,

emperor, and actually named king of the Romans. The Swiss cantons appeared very favourably disposed towards us. In a word, none could resist the allurements of those conquests, which all were made to expect. The pope himself, the most difficult in appearance to be gained, shewed he was not insensible: upon my telling the nuncio one day, that I intended to make his master a king, he thanked me for this news, which, he said, was the best he could ever impart to his holiness. 1609.

But a resource still more certain, which we had begun to make use of, in case of refusal from the sovereign pontiff, and all the little states of Italy, as Florence, Mantua, Montferrat, Modena, Urbino, Genoa, and Lucca, was to march with an army into the Milanois, and force them all either to join or contribute, at least, some sums of money to the common armament. Lesdiguiéres had been commissioned to set on foot a body of twelve thousand foot and two thousand horse, with a train of artillery consisting of twelve pieces of cannon; and, while he was employed in making these levies, I set apart every month a fund of a hundred thousand crowns for their maintenance, the assignments for which were expediated and already sent. I expected that the duke of Savoy, the Venetians, who were the most zealous for, as indeed they were the most interested in this part of the scheme, and the pope, in case we could prevail upon him to declare himself, would each furnish as much.

The storm began now to gather towards Germany. They had actually levied, for the great army which was destined for Cleves, twenty thousand foot, four thousand horse, and got ready a train of artillery consisting of no less than fifty cannons: the carriages, horses, mules, and all the rest of the baggage in proportion were alike well furnished, and in a fit condition for service. The levies finished, the army began to file off towards Cleves. Although the war was not yet declared, the company of two hundred men of arms, called the queen's, of which I was captain-lieutenant, received orders to be at Mézieres, on the last day of July, complete and fully equipped.

The king, who delayed to set up his standard till the next spring should afford a proper time to take the field, resolved to avoid every thing that might look like invasion till within ten days of his setting out. He wrote to the archduke acquainting him, that, being solicited by the lawful heirs of the duke of Cleves to assist them against certain persons, who, supported by several powerful princes, attempted to possess themselves

1609. themſelves of their dominions, he could not refuſe to aid them; and, as the road his army was to take lay through his territory, he entreated him to conſent to his marching through as a friend; that he would commit no act of hoſtility, unleſs forced to it; and would keep his troops under exact diſcipline. The archduke's anſwer, which did not arrive till after his majeſty's death, was to this effect:

"My lord, it is in the quality of one of the humbleſt of your ſervants, that I entreat you will march through my territories: my gates ſhall be open to you, and proviſions at your ſervice, relying upon the aſſurance your majeſty will, I hope, be pleaſed to give, that no act of hoſtility ſhall be committed during your march."

Such was the ſtate of affairs in France at the concluſion of the year 1609, the laſt months of which Henry had ſolely employed in bringing his ſcheme to perfection. The beginning of the following year produced no change in his reſolutions, nor intermiſſion to his labour: he was ſo entirely engroſſed by them, that he often made very indiſcreet confidences. On New-year's day, when I went to make him the uſual compliments and preſents, he was ſo well pleaſed with the device of the medals I brought him, that he put two of them in his pocket to ſhew to ſome of the courtiers. Upon theſe medals was repreſented the globe of the earth, ſelf-ballanced in the midſt of an atmoſphere, and aſſaulted, in vain, by winds and ſtorms; with theſe words in Latin upon the exergue of the medal, "Suo ſe pondere fulcit;" altogether expreſſing the analogy between this emblem and the condition of our affairs, which, by the wiſe government of Henry, was capable of triumphing over all the efforts of our enemies. His majeſty, at his riſing from dinner, found the count of Soiſſons and the cardinals de Joyeuſe and Du-Perron converſing together in his library: he ſhewed them the medals; and theſe gentlemen to pleaſe him, enlarged upon the praiſes he beſtowed on me, ſaying, that I was ſo much the more worthy of them, as, that in men of quality, a taſte for the belles lettres was ſeldom found united with the talents neceſſary to form a complete ſtatesman and ſoldier.

I was preſent at this diſcourſe, together with many other perſons, who had followed the king into the library. He ordered all to retire, except M. de Vendôme, that he might converſe with thoſe I have firſt mentioned. La-Varenne and Béringhen ſtaid likewiſe; but kept near the door. I was extremely uneaſy when I heard his majeſty begin

gin to talk of his great project before several persons whom I knew were not all equally well affected to his interest; and my uneasiness encreased upon his saying, that he would give Spain and the house of Austria such a blow, as would prevent them, for the future, from being considered as formidable enemies by France, whatever change might happen, either with regard to the royal family, or in the form of his government. These words were sufficiently imprudent; but he did not stop here, and was upon the point of betraying his secret, by discovering circumstances of greater importance. He no longer remembered what he had often said to me the year before, that he was beset with men who were continually laying snares for him, to penetrate into the bottom of his heart, and whose curiosity, on this occasion, could not but proceed from a very bad motive. 1609.

I took the liberty to pull him by the cloak, without any one's perceiving it, which he understood so well, that he stopped short as if he had forgot something; "My memory, said he, grows extremely bad: "I cannot recollect the names of persons, cities, and countries. I entreat you," pursued he, turning to me, "to draw up memorials of "all my own designs, their causes, and the expedients necessary for "effecting them: as likewise to give me in writing the substance of all "the conversations we have had together on these subjects, as far back "as you can recollect, that, when my memory is refreshed, I may "communicate all to such of my servants whom I judge most worthy "of my confidence." Thus did he extricate himself from the necessity he was under of saying more, since he had said so much. I replied, that I would not fail to give him those memorials he required; but that the work was not so short, nor so easy to be executed, as that I could promise to satisfy him, unless I had prepared those papers long before: notwithstanding which, I was apprehensive that they would be defective in many circumstances, which I could only know from his own mouth, and upon which we had only had short and interrupted conferences. The conversation ended in this manner.

The king took part of the courtiers with him to hunt, and I went home to collect my papers, and put them in order. Some of those upon the affairs of the finances were of great importance: but did not directly relate to his majesty's vast designs. I set apart such as I judged most necessary, and six days afterwards carried them to his majesty, telling him, when I presented them, that those persons, who looked with an evil eye upon his project, would be much more mortified if they

1609. they knew what I had to ſhew him. "What! ſaid the king, have "you then concealed any thing of importance upon this ſubject from "me? I know not how to believe it." I anſwered, that was not the caſe; but that a thouſand things, which, mentioned ſeparately, are difficult to be remembered, when collected together ſtrike the imagination more forcibly.

Among the papers I left with his majeſty, thoſe which related to his deſign were only general ones. When he had examined them, he came to the arſenal, and, ſhutting himſelf up with me in my cloſet, "I have read your memorials, ſaid he, ſeveral times; there are many "good things in them eaſily to be underſtood and executed; but there "are others that require ſome conſideration, and in which I do not "think you will find your account." "I expected, Sire, replied I, "to hear you ſpeak thus; but, before you go any farther, I beg you "will allow me to tell you, that I have two other papers to ſhew you, "which, I am perſuaded, will clear up all your doubts, and ſatisfy "you entirely." "Oh, have you ſo? ſaid the king: Well, give "them to me; I will read them at my leiſure, and then tell you my "ſentiments of them." In effect, theſe ſecond memorials contained only ſome explanations of the former, and ſatisfactory anſwers to the doubts which might be raiſed, or difficulties that might be alledged. In theſe, likewiſe, the king found how great a number of ſoldiers it was neceſſary to raiſe for the execution of his vaſt deſigns, and what money it would require to maintain them.

The king was eager to ſee theſe other papers, and came himſelf for them to the arſenal. He took his reading glaſs, which lay upon a table in my cloſet, and read them quite through with great attention, declaring afterwards, that the memorials I had given him, eight days before, were ſufficiently explained by theſe; and that he now began to entertain hopes of ſucceſs, ſeeing that ſuch vaſt ſums were at preſent amaſſed, or might be very eaſily. "For, provided we have money, "ſaid he, I know I ſhall not want ſoldiers, courage, or diligence. "I am ſure of it, Sire, ſaid I; and there is nothing too great for you "to perform, or above what I expect from you. But here," added I, ſhewing him a little paper written and ſigned with my own hand, "is "ſomething which will remove all your doubts." Henry looking upon it, and perceiving that it was an account of what ſums were then actually in his coffers, which amounted to thirty-ſix millions, embraced me eagerly three times; then, folding it up carefully and riſing, "Theſe

"two

" two papers, said he, have given me great pleasure. I see there is 1609.
" a secure fund for my expences." " You must not think, Sire," replied I, as we came out of the closet, " that this is all I am able to do; " no, in a case of extreme necessity, I may perhaps find the means of " producing you as much more: your kingdom is so fertile and opulent, " that it cannot be drained, provided good management be used; and " that the money destined for the war be not applied to other purposes." I shall not give the reader the trouble of examining all these accounts in this place, as I propose to insert them exactly, in the exposition I shall shortly make of Henry's great designs.

His majesty went again to Fontainebleau at the beginning of March, but he staid there only fifteen days: and, by the letters I received from him during that time, it was plain he never lost sight of his project. They all turned upon circumstances relating to the war: in one, he mentions recruiting the five companies of the regiment of Piedmont to two hundred men each: in another, a company of light horse, which he had commanded Soubise to raise, giving him twelve thousand livres for that purpose; and ordered me to carry it to account immediately: in another, he directed me to confer with the chancellor Villeroi and Jeannin about all that was necessary for furnishing his troops with provisions, and to chuse the magazines along the Maes preferably to all others: in another of his letters he laid down the order that was to be observed in levying his soldiers, their march to the place of rendezvous, their enrolment, and many other details of the same kind. This letter was addressed more particularly to me, because it related to the levies which were to be made in my government.

I shall suppress, as usual, several other letters like those of the former years, which turned wholly upon small payments, and affair so the finances; and shall transcribe only one, which the king thought proper ro send me, in answer to some words that had escaped me, concerning the pleasure he took in hunting and in residing at Fontainebleau. " My friend, I have heard what you said upon my hunting, " and my stay here; but do not imagine, that the pleasure I find " in either shall lessen my attention to make the necessary preparations " for our journey, or the raising my army, in all that depends upon " me: do you only take care to provide money and artillery, that no- " thing may be wanting; but more especially provisions: for, accord- " ing to the account you have given me of the ambassadors necessary to " be sent to the foreign courts, the presidents Jeannin and Caumartin

1609. "must be of the number. The others I leave to your choice; for to "you I shall apply on every occasion. I have often considered what "you said to me concerning my wife and another person, and the "promises you exact from me. I shall speak to you more fully on this "subject when I see you, which will be in two days. Adieu, my "friend. Fontainebleau, March 15."

Henry, at his return from Fontainebleau, employed the remainder of March, and all April entirely, in putting the finishing hand to every thing that still remained to be done for opening the campaign, which he was resolved to do as soon as possible. He came frequently to the arsenal, and remained many hours shut up with me alone. The time passed away very swiftly while we discoursed upon the accomplishment of his great designs; and a thousand considerations, which, at the eve of so important an enterprise, presented themselves to his mind, both with respect to foreign affairs and the necessary disposition of those at home, that no inconvenience and disorder might attend his absence. For this purpose, the king ordered me to compose a long memorial upon war and affairs of state, which, after we had together examined every particular, he took pleasure in correcting with his own hand.

His majesty appointed the following persons to reside in the quality of ambassadors in the several courts of Europe, while he was employed in the execution of his great design: my brother was to be sent to Rome, and the other principalities and republics of Italy, who had not yet declared for the confederacy; Bullion to the Venetians, and the duke of Savoy; Caumartin to the Swiss cantons, Grisons, and their allies; Schomberg to the dukes of Saxony, Bavaria, and Brunswick, the marquis of Brandenburg, and the other princes and cities of Germany, which had not yet entered into the alliance; Bongars to Hungary, Bohemia, and Transilvania; Boissise to Denmark, Sweden, and the cities situated upon the Baltick; Jeannin to Great Britain and the United Provinces, and the heirs of the principality of Cleves; Ancel to Vienna and Poland, Préaux to the archdukes, and Montglat to Constantinople.

The government at home was destined for the queen, with the title of regent, assisted by a council, without which she could not conclude any thing; and which his majesty composed of the cardinals de Joyeuse and Du-Perron; the dukes of Maïenne, Montmorency, and Montbazon; the

the marſhals Briſſac and Fervaques, Meſſieurs de Châteauneuf, keeper of the ſeal of the regency, de Harlay, de Nicolaï, de Châteauvieux, de Liancourt, de Pont-carré, de Gêvrés, de Villemontée, and de Maupeou. This council was not only obliged to act conformably to the inſtructions which were given them, but were alſo tied up from determining any thing upon affairs of great conſequence, till they had firſt informed and conſulted his majeſty upon them. This great council had under it fourteen ſmaller ones, compoſed each of five perſons choſen out of the clergy, the nobleſſe, the lawyers, financiers, and the magiſtrates of the city of Paris. The number of theſe little councils was regulated by that of the provinces, or governments into which the kingdom was divided, in the following order: The iſle of France, Brittanny, Normandy, Picardy, Champaign, Burgundy, Breſſe, Lyonois, Forez, Beaujolis; and Auvergne, Dauphiné, Guyenne, Poitou, Aunis, Xaintonge, Angoumois; and Limoſin, Orleans, Anjou; and Touraine, Maine, Perche, Berry, Bourbon, Nivernois, and La-Marche. 1629.

About this time, preparations of a very different nature were making in Paris, which Henry beheld with a deep regret; I mean, the ceremony of the queen's coronation. He had ſo ſtrong a reluctance to it, that no motive, leſs powerful than his complaiſance for the queen, could have forced him to conſent to it. That princeſs, as ſoon as ſhe had obtained an order for this ceremony, hurried on the preparations with the utmoſt eagerneſs. I have already mentioned the reaſons her creatures urged for her ſpeedy coronation; reaſons which muſt appear very extravagant, or highly criminal. Henry propoſed to leave Paris immediately after the ceremony; and, as this could not occaſion a longer delay than fifteen days, orders were iſſued for all the troops, both horſe and foot, to begin their march directly to Champaign. The ſix thouſand Swiſs, which the king had cauſed to be levied, were conducted to Mouſon by the duke of Rohan, who had gone to the frontier to receive them. I ſent away all the ordnance. Never before had France ſeen a train of artillery ſo complete and ſo well furniſhed; and perhaps never will again. My ſon put himſelf at the head of it, by virtue of his poſt of grand maſter, which his majeſty had been ſo good to give him the ſurvivance of. I prepared to follow ſoon after with eight millions of money.

At length the king gave the ſignal of his departure to the foreign powers, by the letter he wrote to the archduke; and here it follows,

1609. ſuch as it was, compoſed by me, and ſuch as the duke received, if Villeroi, through whoſe hands it paſſed, as ſecretary of ſtate, did not alter it, which he had a great inclination to do.

"Brother,

"Since I cannot refuſe, to my beſt allies and confederates, the aſſiſtance they require of me, againſt thoſe who diſpute with them the ſucceſſion to the duchies and earldoms of Cleves, Juliers, La-Mark, Bergh, Ravenſburg, and Raveſtein, I am preparing to march thither with my whole army; and, becauſe my road lies through your territories, I am willing to give you notice of it, and know of you whether I am to enter your country as a friend or an enemy; ſo, in expectation of your anſwer, I beſeech God, &c.

I know not what judgment ought to be formed of a report which prevailed at that time, and was confirmed to the king, at Fontainebleau, by Girard, who arrived at Bruſſels on the 7th of March, that in the court and dominions of the archduke, people were perſuaded the king of France pretended to have great deſigns, only with a view to ſtrike terror into his enemies; and they were ſo certain that this was the ſole aim of his armament, that they made not the leaſt preparations for oppoſing him. The latter part of this news might be true, as in effect it was; yet the archduke was not ſo eaſy as he pretended to appear, otherways he would have thought very differently from every other perſon who had an intereſt in Spain and the houſe of Auſtria. Their conſternation was inexpreſſible; for, while their adverſary's party, which at the foreign courts was called the French faction, wore an air of joy and triumph, which ſeemed to ariſe from an aſſurance of ſucceſs, the Auſtrian party was ſilent, dejected, and inactive; the objects of the public deteſtation, and trembled leſt they ſhould ſoon be the public victims likewiſe. No poſſibility appeared of avoiding the thunder, which was preparing to burſt upon their heads: but, alas! why do I exult thus unſeaſonably? they had but too many reſources *; it was not by

* "It is out of doubt, ſays Pereſixe, "that there were many conſpiracies againſt "the life of this good king; ſince he had "notice of it from different quarters; "ſince printed accounts of his death were "publiſhed at Spain and at Milan; ſince a "courier paſſed through the city of Leige, "eight days before he was aſſaſſinated, "who ſaid he was going with news, to "the princes of Germany, of his being "killed; and ſince, at Montargis, a note "was found on the altar, containing a "prediction of his approaching death, by "a method determined upon, &c." p. 499.

The archbiſhop of Embrun, Honorius Du-Laurens, brother of the king's firſt phyſician, being in company with other prelates, ſaid, at the very time the king

entreaties,

entreaties, nor a noble deſpair, with which they were inclined to oppoſe a prince whom Europe had choſen to defend and avenge her. The head, which gave motion to this great body, muſt be laid low, and that by a murder. Never had treachery, poiſoning, aſſaſſination, gained a triumph ſo infamouſly great; a triumph ſo ſhameful, ſo deteſted, that no words can expreſs all its horror. With grief I proceed to acquaint the reader with the particulars of that fatal accident, the remembrance of which ſtill draws tears of blood from my heart. 1609.

What ſhall we think of thoſe black preſages, which, it is but too certain, this miſerable prince had of his cruel deſtiny? they were indeed dreadful, and ſurpriſing to the laſt degree *. I have already related with what reluctance he permitted the ceremony of the queen's coro-

was murdered; "it is impoſſible but ſome "miſchief muſt happen to the king from "the preſent ſituation of affairs: perhaps "at this very time we are talking of him, "ſome diſaſter happens to him." Iſt letter of Nicholas Paſquier. "A prieſt of Douay "ſaid, at the moment of his aſſaſſination, "they were murdering the greateſt mo-"narch on earth.---The ſiſter of Villars-"Houdan, governor of Dieppe, a nun at "St. Paul in Picardy, ſaid to her abbeſs; "Madam, order prayers to be ſaid for the "king, for they are murdering him: and, "a moment after; Alas! he is killed." Matthieu, ib. pa. 835. Paſquier ſays further, in the ſame letter, that La-Font, provoſt of Bayonne, in 1608, came to the king to give him notice that there was a deſign formed againſt his perſon; and that, two or three days before this prince was ſtabbed, the ſame La-Font again told the chancellor, that he who was to kill the king was actually in Paris; that it had been revealed to him, &c. This fact is the ſame mentioned by Du-Pleix, p. 411, under the name of a gentleman of Bearn. Paſquier adds, that a merchant of Douay, writing, fifteen days before this murder happened, to a merchant at Rouen, asked if it was true that the king was killed. One of the principal inhabitants of Cambrai ſaid, eight days before, "This old man has "great deſigns, but he will not go much "farther; and many other circumſtances of the like kind. There are alſo ſome particulars mentioned in the firſt volume of the life of Mary de Medicis, p. 68; and in many other writings.

* Marſhal Baſſompierre ſpeaks of it in his Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 292. & ſeq. in the following manner: "He ſaid to me, a "little before that time, I do not know, "Baſſompierre, what is the matter with "me; but I cannot perſuade myſelf I ſhall "ever go to Germany; nor can I believe "thou wilt go into Italy. He often ſaid "to me and others, I believe I ſhall die "ſoon.---The queen had a violent incli-"nation to be crowned before the king's "departure for Germany; but the king "was no way deſirous of it, as well to "avoid the expence, as becauſe he was "not at all fond of ſuch great feſtivals." It is highly probable this prince carefully concealed from every one but M. de Sully, the true motives which induced him to be againſt this ceremony. "Nevertheleſs, "continues this writer, as he was the beſt "huſband in the world, he conſented to "it, and deferred his journey to Ger-"many, till after ſhe ſhould have made "her public entry into Paris. The coro-"nation of the queen was performed "with the utmoſt magnificence it was ca-"pable of. The king was unuſually gay "during the ceremony. The king ſaid "to her, the duke of Guiſe, and to me "alſo; You none of you know me tho-

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1609. nation to go forward; the nearer the moment approached, the more his terrors encreaſed. In this ſtate of overwhelming horror, which at firſt I thought an unpardonable weakneſs, he opened his whole heart to me: his own words will be more affecting than all I can ſay: "Oh! my "friend, ſaid he, this coronation does not pleaſe me: I know not "what is the meaning of it; but, my heart tells me, ſome fatal acci- "dent will happen." He ſat down, as he ſpoke theſe words, upon a low chair, which I had cauſed to be made on purpoſe for him, and which was kept always in my cloſet, and, reſigning himſelf up to all the horror of his melancholy apprehenſions, he graſped the caſe of his reading-glaſs hard between his fingers, and continued in a profound reverie; then, ſuddenly ſtarting up, and ſtriking his hands together, he ex-

"roughly: but I ſhall die one of theſe days; "and, when you have loſt me, you will "find what I really was, and the diffe- "rence between me and other men. I "ſaid to him; Good God, Sire, will you "always diſquiet yourſelf thus, and con- "tinually talk of your dying ſoon? Theſe "expreſſions are not proper. You will "ſtill live, pleaſe God, many happy years. "There is no happineſs comparable to "yours: you are in the flower of your "age, in perfect health and ſtrength of "body; more loaden with honours than "any other mortal; enjoying, with the "greateſt tranquility, the moſt flouriſhing "kingdom in the world; loved and even "adored by your ſubjects; poſſeſſed of "great eſtates, and money in abundance; "fine houſes; a beautiful wife; handſome "children, growing up apace. What can "you wiſh for more? He, ſighing, an- "ſwered, My friend, I muſt loſe them "all ſoon, &c."

"It was obſerved, ſay L'Etoile's Me- "moirs, that, on throwing gold and ſilver "medals among the people, according to "cuſtom, there was no cry of *God ſave* "*the king*, or *God ſave the queen*." "I "ſhall paſs over, continues this writer, "the dreams it was reported, both his "majeſty and the queen had that night, "of a houſe falling on him in the ſtreet "called La-Ferronnerie, &c. It is an in- "diſputable fact, that, about ſix months "ago, the king being at Zamet's, and "having dined there, he retired alone "into a room, ſaying he would lie down; "and ſent for Thomaſſin, who was eſ- "teemed the moſt celebrated aſtrologer "of that time, and it was even ſaid he "dealt with the devil, to come to him "there: and his majeſty having put ſeve- "ral queſtions to him, on different mat- "ters, relating to his perſon and kingdom, "Thomaſſin told him, he muſt take care of "himſelf in May 1610; and even pointed "out to him the day and hour in which he "would be killed. But the king making "a jeſt of him and his aſtrology, ſome- "times pulling him by the hair, and ſome- "times by the beard, made him take two "or three turns round the room, and ſent "him away in this manner. He deſerves "to be commended for this; and much "more, had he not liſtened to him at all, "and baniſhed all ſuch peſts from his "court and kingdom." Anno 1610. See alſo in Mezerai's Hiſtory, in 4to. Paris anno 1667, Vol. III. p. 1447, the different prognoſtications of this prince's death, which came to the knowledge of the public at that time, and ſince.

P. Matthieu obſerves, that the queen waking in the night, in great fright and agitation, ſaid to the king, who inquired the cauſe of it; "I was dreaming ſome "body ſtabbed you with a knife, on the "ſtair-caſe." "Thank God, replied the "king, it is only a dream." The ſame writer, to theſe predictions, adds ſeveral

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claimed; "Pardieu, I ſhall die in this city; they will murder me here; 1609.
"I ſee plainly that they have made my death their only reſource. Oh!
"this curſed coronation, it will be the cauſe of my death." "My God,
"Sire," ſaid I to him one day, "what a thought have you entertained;
"if you perſiſt in it, it is my opinion, that you ought to break off this
"coronation, your journey, and your war; if you wiſh it ſhould be
"ſo, it is not difficult to ſatisfy you." "Yes," ſaid he at length, after I had ſeveral times made the ſame propoſal to him, "yes, break
"off this coronation, and let me never hear more of it; my mind
"will then be freed from thoſe apprehenſions which the advices I have
"received have given riſe to: I ſhall then leave this city, and have no-
"thing to fear."

"I would not yield to your ſolicitations, added he, but that it has
"been foretold to me I ſhould be murdered at a public ceremony, and
"in a coach; and hence proceed my fears." "You never mentioned
"this to me, Sire, replied I; and I have been often ſurpriſed to hear
"you cry out when in a coach, and ſeem ſo much alarmed at a dan-
"ger ſo inconſiderable; you whom I have often beheld unmoved in all
"the rage of war, amidſt volleys of cannon and muſquet ſhots, and
"environed by ſwords and pikes. However, ſince this notion affects
"you to ſuch a degree, I would adviſe you, Sire, to depart to-mor-
"row: let the coronation be performed without you, or defer it till
"ſome other time; and let it be long e'er you return to Paris, or get
"into a coach. Shall I ſend directly to Notre Dame and St. Denis,
"to put a ſtop to the preparations, and ſend back the workmen?"
"I would conſent to it willingly, ſaid the king; but what will my
"wife, who has this coronation ſtrangely in her head, ſay to it?" "Let

expreſſions of Henry IV. as ſo many inſtances of that ſecret preſage which ariſes in the mind on the approach of ſome inevitable cataſtrophe, or what at leaſt is deemed ſo, after the event has happened; ſuch are thoſe he made uſe of to the queen: "My dear, if this is not done on Thurſ-
"day, after Friday is once paſt you will
"ſee me no more; no, on Friday I ſhall
"bid you adieu." Another time, "Go
"on, go on, queen regent." To the ſame, retiring to her devotions; "My
"dear, make confeſſion for yourſelf and
"me too." To the courtiers, ſhewing them the dauphin; "This is your king." Speaking of the queen's public entry; "I
"have nothing to do with it; I ſhall not
"ſee it."---"Let us not laugh ſo much on
"Friday, for we ſhall weep on Sunday,
"&c." Vol. II. book iv. p. 810, & ſeq. Morizot obſerves, that, at the queen's coronation, the painter, inſtead of enamelling her coat of arms argent, which the houſe of Medicis bears, through ignorance painted it cheſnut, the colour of widows; and, inſtead of palms, he encircled it with twiſted cords, another mark of widowhood. Hen. Mag. p. 51.

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1609. "her ſay what ſhe will," reſumed I, finding my propoſal had greatly pleaſed the king: "however, I cannot believe that ſhe will continue "obſtinate, when ſhe knows what apprehenſions you have of ſome "diſaſter happening."

I did not wait for any other order, but ſent immediately to put a ſtop to the preparations for the coronation. It is with much regret, that I am obliged to confeſs, that, notwithſtanding all my endeavours, the queen would not give her huſband this ſatisfaction. I ſhall paſs over in ſilence, the prayers, entreaties, and arguments, with which, for three whole days, I endeavoured to move her *. It was Henry's part to yield; and, as in certain moments he was the firſt to condemn himſelf for his fears, he left off ſpeaking to me of the coronation; or by me to the queen. The preparations again went forward, and again his apprehenſions returned. It was in theſe words, which he had perpetually in his mouth, that he expreſſed thoſe apprehenſions: "Ah! "my friend, I ſhall never go out of this city: they will murder me "here: this curſed coronation will be the cauſe of my death." I ſhall never forget thoſe ſad words.

In this affair, there are ſome private circumſtances, which I think it my duty to ſuppreſs. I would carry my ſilence ſtill further, If I did not think it needleſs, in things which my domeſtics and other perſons had ſome knowledge of. The following fact is of that number: Schomberg, who lived with me in ſo great a degree of intimacy that he ſeemed one of the family, had a billet brought to him by a page, as he ſat at table one day, which I obſerved, as it was ſlid into his hand very myſteriouſly. I rallied him upon the billet, alledging that it came from a miſtreſs. He anſwered, that he would aſſure me, without reading it, that it was not what I imagined, and promiſed to ſhew me the contents, of what nature ſoever they were. As ſoon as he roſe from table, he went to a window to read his letter: it was very ſhort; he put it into my hands, ſaying that it came from Mademoiſelle De Gournai; a name that would remove all ſuſpicions of gallantry: adding, that ſhe intreated him to come to her immediately, having ſomething of the utmoſt conſequence to impart to him. He promiſed to return directly, and acquaint me with the affair; and accordingly he came back in half an hour.

* This overthrows Matthieu's aſſertion, in oppoſition to all other hiſtorians, that the queen was not at all deſirous of being crowned. Ibid 804.

This

THIS lady had been informed by a woman, who had belonged to the marchioneſs de Verneuil *, that there was actually a conſpiracy formed againſt the king's perſon; and, enquiring who were the perſons concerned in it, the woman named the marchioneſs de Verneuil, herſelf, Monſieur N-----, and ſome others; upon which Mademoiſelle de Gournai reſolved to give the king notice of the plot, by informing the 1609.

* The author means Jacqueline Le-Voyer, of the village of Orlin, betwixt Epernon and Ablis, wife of Iſaac de Varennes, Eſq; Lord of Coman, D'Eſcoman or Eſcouman: ſhe is moſt known by the firſt name: her hiſtory is an incident, in the proceſs againſt Ravaillac, of too much importance to be paſſed over in ſilence: we ſhall have occaſion to recur to it more than once. "She made a declaration in writ-"ing," ſay the Memoirs for the Hiſt. of France, p. 357, "which contains a very "circumſtantial account of Ravaillac's con-"ſpiracy and deſigns, and named the duke "of Epernon, and the marchioneſs of "Verneuil, as the contrivers of them. "Neither the king, the queen, or any "of thoſe ſhe addreſſed herſelf to, in order "to make a diſcovery of what ſhe knew, "would liſten to her; but treated her as a "mad woman. On Tueſday the 25th "of January 1611, for this proſecution "was not determined before the follow-"ing year was far advanced, the chambers "of the parliament met for the exami-"nation of La-Coman, when ſeveral per-"ſons were ordered to be taken into cuſ-"tody, and others to attend in perſon. "La-Villiers-Hotman, the wife of the "preſident St. André, and Charlotte Du-"Tillet her ſiſter, appeared. La-Coman "ſpoke well and ſenſibly, with great re-"ſolution and firmneſs, and without va-"rying in her anſwers and accuſations; "ſhe confirmed what ſhe ſaid with ſuch "powerful reaſons, and ſtrong proofs, "that her judges were aſtoniſhed at them. "She had formerly been in the ſervice of "queen Margaret, to whom ſhe applied "with intent to make a diſcovery to her "of this important conſpiracy and deſign; "whereof the queen regent being inform-"ed, ſhe called her a wicked woman, "who accuſed every body; and ſaid, ſhe "did not know but ſhe might at laſt ac-"cuſe even her. The reflections ſhe and "Du-Fillet caſt on one another on being "confronted, on account of their irregu-"larities, were diverting enough. Had "La-Coman ſtopt there, ſhe had been ſafe "enough; but to go ſuch lengths as ſhe "did is too dangerous: for thoſe who "accuſe the great, often loſe both their "eſtates and life in the attempt, which "puts me in fear for her." There is this note in the margin on this Du-Tillet: "Charlotte Du-Tillet, a woman of in-"trigue, and confidant of the marchioneſs "de Verneuil, was the perſon who in-"formed madame D'Eſcoman of Ravail-"lac's deſigns."

"On Sunday the 30th of January, the "Marchioneſs de Verneuil, on the depo-"ſitions of La-Coman, was examined by "the chief preſident at his own houſe, "where I had ordered her to be ſummoned "to attend for that purpoſe, which exami-"nation laſted from one o'clock 'till five "in the afternoon." Another marginal note on this place ſays, "She was accuſed "by madame D'Eſcoman, and was only "ordered to attend to be examined, "though the matter in queſtion was no "leſs than the aſſaſſination of the king, "and the higheſt kind of treaſon."

"On Saturday the 5th of March, the "court ſat on the caſe of La-Coman, and "the other priſoners accuſed by her of be-"ing concerned in the aſſaſſination of the "king, when an arret was made, which "was ſaid to be like the ſentence of the "Areopagites, who, when they found a "cauſe too full of difficulties to be deter-"mined by them, put off the giving judg-

1609. queen of it, through one of the women of her chamber, named Catherine de Selvage. Mademoiſelle de Gournai, after further reflection, thought not this ſufficient, and caſt her eyes upon M. de Schomberg as a man who might mention the affair directly to his majeſty. M. de

" ment on it for a hundred years: thus the " court, finding no ſmall difficulty in this " caſe, ordered it to ſtand over for judg- " ment till a more convenient time; in the " interim, opening the doors of the priſon " to the accuſed, and keeping La-Coman " alone there, who in appearance ought " to have been ſet at liberty before any of " the reſt; but the times would not permit " it: and the chief preſident himſelf, who " was preſent when this order was made, " was of this opinion, out of reſpect for " the parties accuſed, who nevertheleſs " were not acquitted by this arret; which " was no ſmall matter of diſquiet both to " them and the ſtate." There is this note in the margin: " This arret ordains, that " a further information ſhould be taken in " this matter; and that, in the mean time, " Stephen Sauvage, valet de chambre to " Monſ. D'Entragues the elder, and " James Gaudin, accuſed and priſoners in " the Conciergerie, ſhould be ſet at liberty. " A definitive ſentence was given, on the " 31ſt of July following, whereby the " marchioneſs de Verneuil, madame Du- " Tillet, Gaudin, and Sauvage, are de- " clared innocent, and acquitted of aſ- " ſaſſinating the king; and mademoiſelle " D'Eſcoman is condemned, as guilty of " falſe accuſation, to be impriſoned for " life, all her goods, chattels, and eſtates, " to be ſeized and confiſcated, without re- " ſtitution. It is further ordered, that all " other proſecutions on this account ſhall " ceaſe. This puniſhment, if D'Eſcoman's " accuſation was groundleſs, is very gen- " tle." Ib. p. 361. This ſentence againſt her, was under the conſideration of the court ever ſince Saturday the 23d; and the judges were divided in opinion, nine againſt nine. P. 377.

The account the Merc. Franç. anno 1611, p. 14. & ſeq. gives of this affair of D'Eſcoman's, is directly contrary to L'Etoile's; and, as that account is ſupported by an unqueſtionable evidence, one cannot refuſe giving credit to it. It is there proved, that this woman, on account of her infamous manner of life, having been ſhut up in the Hôtel Dieu, and being afterwards impriſoned in the Châtelet, where even ſentence of death was pronounced on her, in order to obtain her liberty, and procure herſelf an intereſt in queen Margaret, ſhe invented this calumny; that having accuſed the marchioneſs of Verneuil of ſending Ravaillac to her with a letter, deſiring her to procure him an interview with mademoiſelle Du-Tillet, and charging Du-Tillet with having admitted that aſſaſſin into her room when ſhe herſelf was preſent; ſhe was convicted of having been guilty of many falſhoods in the relation of theſe facts; and, amongſt others, that ſhe had never ſeen, and did not even know Ravaillac; that ſhe had not indeed ſo much as heard his name before he was brought to the Conciergerie, which is proved from this woman's own words; that Gaudin, on being confronted with her, abſolutely confounded her; and, in ſhort, that there was not one of all thoſe that were confronted with her, but proved her guilty of falſhood, impoſition, and ſlander.

The author of L'Hiſtoire de la Mere & du Fils, in juſtification of the arret of the parliament, which appears ſo blame-worthy to L'Etoile, ſays, " That auguſt body would " have condemned her to be publicly " burnt, had the falſe accuſation, of " which ſhe was found guilty, been of any " other nature; but in caſes where the " life of kings is in queſtion, the fear of " ſhutting the door againſt ſuch diſcove- " ries as may be made, cauſes the rigour " of the laws to be diſpenſed with." Vol. I. p. 154. See a paper reprinted in the 4th Vol. of L'Etoile's new Memoirs, p. 256, entitled, Interrogations for the Examination

Schomberg,

Schomberg, after he had acquainted me with theſe circumſtances, confeſſed to me that he was greatly perplexed in what manner to act, and deſired I would give him my advice. The thing was too important to be concealed, and too dangerous to be deſpiſed: but, on the other hand, by diſcloſing it to the king, we expoſed him to the neceſſity of making implacable enemies of all thoſe who were involved in the accuſation; for we knew this prince would not fail to mention them publicly. My wife alone was preſent at our conſultation. 1609.

We agreed, at length, that Schomberg ſhould mention it to the king, but with all poſſible circumſpection; and, if his majeſty ſhould deſire to know who the accomplices were, he was to refer him to the two women already named, as beſt able to inform him. No one is unacquainted with the event. The woman, from whom Mademoiſelle de Gournai heard all that ſhe had related to M. de Schomberg, being interrogated, firmly maintained her depoſition, and perſiſted in it to her death. This is a circumſtance which will never be forgot by thoſe who endeavoured to draw ſome inferences from the great care that was taken to ſuppreſs all the papers * relating to the trial of the horrid parricide.

of madame de Coman, and her Anſwer thereto; in which this letter to mademoiſelle de Gournai and count de Schomberg is mentioned: "ſhe knew ſo well "how to manage her diſcourſe, and ſup- "ported her accuſations in ſo reſolute a "manner, that they did not find ſufficient "grounds to put her to death." Mem. de la Reg. de M. de Medicis, Vol. I. p. 74.

* This ſuppreſſion of the proceedings in the trial of Ravaillac, by the parliament of Paris, is a fact univerſally known. To the reflections thrown on his judges on this account, it has been further added, that none, or, at leaſt, a very ſmall and ſlight examination, was made by them into the manner of the death of ſeveral perſons confined, on this account, in the priſons, which to many appeared to be unnatural; that they neglected to ſummon and interrogate many other perſons, who were capable of giving great lights into this matter; ſuch as the mother of the murderer, who knew very well that he left Angoulême on Eaſter-day, before he had performed the devotions of that feſtival; many of his relations, whom he had named in the courſe of his examination; the pariſh prieſt of St. Severin; father St. Mary Magdalen, of the order of the Bernardines; the capuchins of Angoulême, who had given him a heart made of coſt-mary root in a reliquary, with ſome wood of the true croſs, at leaſt they made him believe ſo; and which, they told him, would cure him of a fever he had then got; that they alſo had not examined the ſieur Guillebaut, a canon of Angoulême; father Gilles Oſieres, antient viſiter of the order of cordeliers at Paris; Le Fèvre, another young cordelier; ſeveral of the cardinal Du-Perron's almoners, whom Ravaillac ſaid he knew very well by ſight, but whoſe names he did not know; certain perſons called Béliard, Bréteau, Colletet, Du-Bois, de Limoges, &c. It was alſo complained of, that Ravaillac had been ſo careleſsly guarded in priſon, that, during the thirteen days he continued there, all who had a mind were admitted to ſee

1609. The ceremony of the queen's coronation was performed, in the mean time, with all the magnificence uſual upon ſuch extraordinary occaſions. It was to laſt ſeveral days, and to be terminated by the moſt ſplendid ſhew of all on Sunday the 16th of May.* The king had ſo much complaiſance for the queen as to aſſiſt at a ceremony, which pierced him to the heart; but, when it was over, he thought he ſhould have nothing more to keep him: and Monday, May 17, was the day appointed for his departure. I ſhould not have ſtaid at Paris ſo long, but a violent pain which I felt in my neck and throat, occaſioned by a wound I had received there many years before, obliged me to have recourſe to my phyſicians, who ordered me to bathe three mornings ſuc-

and talk with him. Another complaint of ſtill greater weight, if the fact be true, is, that at the firſt pull of the horſe at his execution, Ravaillac having deſired ſome one would take his confeſſion as of a dying man, the clerk Voiſin, who took it, wrote it ſo ill, that, though it is ſtill in being, (as it is ſaid) no ſworn notary or ſcrivener has yet been found ſkilful enough to decypher a ſingle word of it.

All theſe conſiderations make an infinite number of people conclude, that the parliament acted in this manner out of fear, that in caſe the truth had been diſcovered and made public, they would have been neceſſitated to proceed with the utmoſt rigour againſt too many, and thoſe too powerful perſons. It would be labour loſt to endeavour to perſuade all thoſe people of the contrary. But after all, ſince, by the ſuppreſſion of the proceedings in this affair, there do not at preſent remain ſufficient lights whereon, with certainty, to form any judgment of the truth, which, even at that time, could never be cleared up, it muſt be owned, that one cannot, without raſhneſs, pretend to determine any thing in this matter at the diſtance of an hundred and thirty years, which have ſince elapſed; and God forbid I ſhould expoſe myſelf to ſuch a reproach. If, in obedience to the laws preſcribed to every author of memoirs, I have ſubmitted to join to my text here, and at the end of this book, whatever I could recollect, from the moſt credible hiſtorians, relating to this particular fact, as I have conſtantly done in reſpect to every hiſtorical relation given in this work, my juſtification, ſuppoſing any to be neceſſary in ſo plain a caſe, will be, that I have ſtated both ſides of the queſtion with equal impartiality: and, on the other ſide, in anſwer to thoſe who may complain that, after all that has been ſaid, nothing is clearly decided, I would ſay, it is no fault of mine that nothing but conjectures can be come at in this matter, and that even thoſe conjectures ſhould frequently deſtroy one another.

* The ceremony of the coronation was performed at St. Denis on Thurſday the 13th of May, le Merc. Franc. Matth. the 9361ſt Vol. of the MSS. royaux, and other hiſtorians give a detail of the magnificence and manner of it. Preparations were made for the queen to make her public entry on the Sunday following, with a pomp ſurpaſſing even that of the coronation. Henry IV. ſaid on Tueſday; "I will lie at St. "Denis on Wedneſday; I will return "from thence on Thurſday; I will put "my affairs in order on Friday; on Satur-"day I will run at the ring; on Sunday "my wife ſhall make her entry; on Mon-"day my daughter Vendôme ſhall be mar-"ried; on Tueſday we will keep the mar-"riage feaſt; and on Wedneſday to horſe "and away." Matth. ib. p. 804. This hiſtorian, ſpeaking of the ceremony of the coronation at St. Denis, ſays; "Henry

ceſſively

ceſſively in my chamber. I did not envy the happineſs of thoſe who, having protracted their departure out of curioſity to ſee the ceremony of the queen's coronation, ran eagerly to the ſhew: the deep concern it gave to Henry rendered it almoſt as odious to me as to him. The count of Soiſſons alledged, that there was ſome failure in the ceremonial with reſpect to him; and made uſe of this pretence to quit the court in diſguſt *. 1609.

The ceremony for ſome reaſon or other being ſuſpended, on Wedneſday May the 17th, that moſt miſerable day for France, the unfortunate king had deſtined part of it to be ſpent in conference with me, as it was the laſt interview we were likely to have before his departure. I was not ignorant of what he had to ſay to me. A malicious report had been ſpread, that, while in appearance he was preparing to fall upon the houſe of Auſtria with ſuch formidable forces, he had privately entered into an agreement with them; not only to proceed no farther, but alſo to betray all his allies, provided they would conſent that he ſhould keep Cleves for himſelf, and the entire ſucceſſion, which had been the occaſion of the armament. To this his enemies added another condition, which they ſaid he demanded; namely, that Spain ſhould put the prince and the princeſs of Condé into his hands †. Henry

" IV. was ſurpriſed at the Spaniſh ambaſſa-
" dor's not taking off his hat in the church.
" Cicogne told him, that the late king of
" Spain only juſt took off his hat at the
" elevation of the hoſt, and immediately
" put it on again, as if he had been ſaluting
" a gentleman of five hundred livres a year.
" On which the king ſaid, if we had
" thoſe ſentiments of religion we ought
" to have, we ſhould ſhow ſtill greater re-
" verence to thoſe myſteries than we do;
" for we ought to believe that, after the
" words of conſecration are pronounced,
" till the communion, Jeſus Chriſt is al-
" ways preſent on the altar."

* " This retreat was differently ſpoke
" of by different perſons: nevertheleſs, it
" is certain that his majeſty, after hav-
" ing granted him every thing he deſired,
" againſt his own inclinations, ſent him
" word, that whatever he had promiſed
" him he would perform; but he might be
" aſſured, at the ſame time, that he would
" no longer hold any place in his favour;
" and that, having compelled him to grant
" what he did not approve of, he ſhould
" never ſee him again with pleaſure;
" which meſſage being delivered to the
" count, he immediately mounted his
" horſe, and, taking the princeſs his wife
" with him, retired to one of his country
" ſeats." Mem. pour ſervir a l'Hiſt. de France, anno 1610.

† " The nuncio finding himſelf at laſt
" cloſely urged by his majeſty, who was
" enquiring of him what was thought at
" Rome and in Italy of the war he was
" going to undertake, anſwered, that thoſe
" who had the beſt information were of
" opinion, that the principal ſubject of that
" war was the princeſs of Condé, whom
" he wanted to have back. When the
" king in violent anger, and ſwearing, not
" *ventre ſaint gris*, as uſual, but by——,
" cry'd out, Yes, moſt certainly I do want
" to have her back, and I will have her
" back; no one can or ſhall hinder it, not
" even God's lieutenant on earth." Mem.

was

1609. was desirous of convincing me that this report, so injurious to his reputation, was absolutely false. It had been likewise insinuated to him, that the reluctance I discovered to take upon me the charge of furnishing the provisions, was because I had flattered myself that he would, of his own accord, and without my solicitation, erect the post of marshal-general of the camps and armies into a great office of the crown, and invest me with this high dignity: however, I solemnly declare, that I never entertained such a thought. The friendship this great king expressed for me, and the confidence he placed in me, which towards the close of his life was greater than it had ever been, makes it no presumption in me to declare, that I believe, if such had been my desire, he would not have refused me a favour which, great as it was, was still less considerable than others he had offered me; nor will I scruple to assert, that he thought me very capable of such an employment: all that I am doubtful of is, whether he really had any such intentions with regard to me, and whether he was not dissuaded from them by the artful insinuations of my enemies, who affirmed, that I had resolved to quit the care of his finances, as soon as I was raised to this eminent dignity.

It was therefore, I presume, to make me some new instances with respect to furnishing the provisions, that Henry sent La-Varenne, on Wednesday morning, to tell me I must meet him in the Tuillieres, where he had a desire to walk with me alone. La-Varenne found me bathing, and perceiving that I was preparing, notwithstanding, to obey his majesty's orders, he prevented me, saying, he was very sure that the king would come himself to the arsenal, when he knew I was indisposed; and that he would be very angry with me, if I exposed myself to any danger by going out, when there was no necessity for it. "Only stay, added he, till I have spoke to him, and I will return "immediately and tell you what he says." Accordingly he came back in half an hour. "Monsieur, says he, the king desires that you will "finish your bathing, and forbids you to go abroad to-day: for M. "Du-Laurens assures him, that your health will suffer if you do. "His majesty is going into the city, for which he will tell you his

pour l'Hist. de France, anno 1610. These words ought not to prevent us from considering, as a calumny, the report to which some writers have too lightly given credit, that the chief inducement Henry IV. had to commence so important a war, was to oblige Spain to deliver the prince, or rather the princess of Condé, up to him; which seems to me not to stand in need of any proof. No less unjust and malicious is this other charge, that this prince had agreed with the court of Spain not to push his design any further, on condition it would give up the states in contest to him.

" reaſon to-morrow morning * at five o'clock, when he will be, with- 1609.
" out fail, at the arſenal to ſettle all affairs with you; for he is reſolved
" to ſet out on Monday at any rate. He ſays, that what you ſaid to
" him concerning his paſſage, and every other part of his deſign, is
" juſt; and that nothing ſhall have power to alter his intentions, but
" ſome misfortune either to your perſon or his own. (thoſe were his very
" words) And he commands you, continued La-Varenne, to receive
" him to-morrow in your night-gown and night-cap, that you may
" not ſuffer any inconvenience from your bathing: he declares, if
" he finds you dreſt, he will be very angry." La-Varenne, after he had thus delivered the king's meſſage, added from himſelf, that his majeſty had taken my advice, and ſent away the letter which had been written to the archduke, tho' he thought it an uſeleſs piece of formality. " For I am reſolved, ſaid this prince, to make myſelf be believed one " way or other." My ſervants have ſince told me, that, when La-Varenne quitted my apartment, they obſerved an unuſual ſadneſs upon his countenance, the cauſe of which they could not comprehend; nor indeed could he himſelf account for it.

At four o'clock in the afternoon, as I had juſt entered my wardrobe, I heard Caſtenet, and afterwards my wife, utter a great cry, and that inſtant my whole houſe reſounded with this mournful exclamation: " Ah! my God, all is loſt! France is undone!" I went out precipitately, undreſt as I was. " Ah! Monſieur," cried they on all ſides, " the king has juſt been dangerouſly wounded in his ſide with a " knife." It was not poſſible for me to doubt a moment whether the dreadful news was true. St. Michel † entered immediately: he had been a witneſs almoſt of the blow, and brought the knife with which it was given, ſtill reeking with blood. " Oh!" cried I, raiſing my hands and eyes to heaven, in a diſtraction no words can deſcribe, " this is what

* Henry IV. in reality did not intend to go to the arſenal till the next morning; but he unfortunately changed that intention in the afternoon.

† St. Michel was one of his majeſty's gentlemen in ordinary, who had followed him. He had drawn his ſword to kill the aſſaſſin, when the duke of Epernon called out to him, and to the footmen, who had the ſame deſign, to ſtop at the peril of their lives: to ſecure his perſon, but to take care not to do any thing more. " The duke " recollected," ſays the hiſtorian of his life, " the diſpleaſure he had conceived at, " and the fault that had been forced with " thoſe who killed James Clement, &c." p. 238. P. Matthieu adds, " That St. Mi- " chel only ſnatched the knife out of Ra- " vaillac's hands: that count de Curſon " ſtruck him on the throat with the pom- " mel of his ſword; and that La-Pierre, " exempt of the guards, ſeized him, and " put him into the hands of the footmen, " who delivered him up to Montigny."

" this

1609. " this poor prince always apprehended: Oh! my God, have pity upon " him, upon us, and the ſtate: 'tis done; he is murdered---God " would not have permitted ſo cruel an accident, but to let looſe all " his wrath upon France, and to deliver her into foreign hands *."

* One would imagine, that upon a fact ſo public and ſo recent as the aſſaſſination of Henry IV. there would be found a perfect conformity in the hiſtories and memoirs of that time; yet many of the cotemporary writers do not agree either as to the number of the perſons who were in the coach with this prince when he was aſſaſſinated, the wounds he received, nor many other circumſtances no leſs eſſential. In order therefore to make this recital in a manner equally faithful and complete, it is neceſſary to collect and join together what has been ſaid on this ſubject by Meſſieurs de Péréfixe, Matthieu, L'Etoile, the continuator of De Thou, and the French Mercury for the year 1610.

" The night before this moſt unhappy day " his majeſty could take no reſt, and was in " continual uneaſineſs. In the morning " he told thoſe about him, that he had " not ſlept, and that he was very much " diſordered. Thereupon M. de Vendôme entreated his majeſty to take care " of himſelf that day, and not to go out; " for that day was fatal to him." " I ſee, " anſwered the king, that you have conſulted the almanac, and have heard of " the prediction of La-Broſſe, from my " couſin the count of Soiſſons: he is an " old fool, and you, who are young, have " ſtill leſs wiſdom." The duke of Vendôme then went to the queen, who likewiſe begged the king not to go out of the " Louvre that day; but he made her the " ſame anſwer." P. de L'Etoile.

" His majeſty afterwards went to hear " maſs at the convent of the Bernardine " monks, whither the infamous parricide " followed him with an intention to murder him; and, as he has ſince confeſſed, " would have given him the ſtroke in the " chapel, but M. de Vendôme coming " unexpectedly between, he was prevented " ſo." Ibid.

" It was obſerved, that the king was " more fervent than uſual in his devotions, " and continued longer in prayer that very " day than he was accuſtomed to do: " Even in the night preceding it, when " his attendants thought he was aſleep, he " was upon his knees in bed at prayer; " and, as ſoon as he roſe, retiring to his " cloſet for the ſame purpoſe, they, thinking he ſtaid longer than uſual, interrupted him, he was angry. " Why " will theſe men, ſaid he, always oppoſe " what is for my good?" Ibid.

" After dinner the king laid down upon " his bed, to try if he could ſleep; but not " being able to reſt, he got up again, " penſive, melancholy, and diſturbed. He " walked a little about his chamber, and " again threw himſelf upon his bed; ſtill " reſtleſs and unquiet, he roſe and aſked " the exempt of the guard what hour of " the day it was. The exempt told him " the clock had ſtruck four; and added, " Sire, I perceive your majeſty is penſive " and uneaſy: you would be better if you " would take the air." The king ſeemed " pleaſed at this motion, and replied " You " have adviſed well: order my coach to " be got ready: I will go to the arſenal " to ſee the duke of Sully, who is indiſpoſed, and bathes to-day." Ibid.

Matthieu recounting his diſcourſe, both before and after dinner, adds, " He could " not ſtay one moment in any place, nor " conceal his irreſolution and diſorder: and " in the midſt of thoſe agitations, he " ſaid to the queen, " I know not what " to do: I have no great inclination to " go to the arſenal, becauſe I ſhall put " myſelf into a paſſion." " Do not go " then, Monſieur, ſaid the queen; ſend " ſome other thither; you are now in a " good humour, why ſhould you go to " make yourſelf uneaſy?" He went towards the window, and, ſtriking his " forehead with his hand, " My God, " ſaid he, there is ſomething here which

" ſtrangely

" ſtrangely troubles me: I know not what " is the matter; I cannot go from hence." " Ravaillac, hearing that he enquired if " his coach was ready, muttered to him- " ſelf; *I have thee, thou art loſt.*" P. Matthieu.

" As he was going into his coach, M. " de Vitry approached, and aſked his ma- " jeſty if it was his pleaſure that he ſhould " attend him. " No, replied the king; but " go whither I have ordered you." " Per- " mit me, Sire, ſaid Vitry, to ſend the " guards with your majeſty." " No, re- " turned the king, I will neither have you " nor your guards: I will have none about " me." Then entering his coach, and " reflecting, as it is ſuppoſed, upon the " fatal predictions of the day, which they " had put into his head, he aſked what " day of the month it was. " Sire, ſaid " one, it is the 13th." " No, ſaid ano- " ther, it is the 14th." " You are right, " ſaid the king; you know your almanack " better than him;" and laughing, " Be- " tween the 13th and 14th," ſaid he; " and then ordered the coach to go on." L'Etoile.

" He ſaid to the coachman, carry me " but from hence. When he came over " againſt the Hôtel de Longueville, he " ſent back all his attendants; and, be- " ing aſked where the coach ſhould go, he " ſaid to the Croix-du-Tiroir; and, when " there, he ordered it to drive to the " church-yard of St. Innocent. Ravaillac " ſtaid a long time at the Louvre, ſitting " upon the ſtones at the gate, where the " footmen wait for their maſters. He de- " ſigned to have given the blow between " the two gates, the place where he ſtood " affording him ſome advantage: but he " found the duke of Epernon on that ſide " where he expected the king would have " been." Matthieu.

This prince was ſeated on the back part of the coach, and unfortunately (the weather being very fine) would have all the curtains drawn up, that he might ſee, as he paſſed, the preparations which were making all over the city for the queen's public entry. On his right hand ſat the duke of Epernon: the marſhals de Lavardin and Roquelaure were near the right boot of the coach; the duke of Montbazon and the marquis de La-Force on his left hand: and near the left boot, oppoſite to him, ſat the marquis de Mirebeau, and Du Pleſſis-Liancourt, his firſt maſter of the horſe. Vitry, the captain of his guards, was, by the king's order, gone to the palace to haſten the preparations for the queen's entry, and had left all the guards at the Louvre; ſo that his majeſty was attended only by a ſmall number of gentlemen on horſeback, and ſome of his footmen. Péréfixe, Matthieu, L'Etoile, N. Rigault, ibid. 1609.

The coach turned from the ſtreet St. Honoré into that called Feronnerie, which was then very narrow, and made more ſo by the little ſhops erected againſt the wall of the church-yard of St. Innocent. A little embarraſſment was occaſioned by the meeting of two carts, one loaden with wine, the other with hay; ſo that the coach was obliged to ſtop in a corner of the ſtreet, over againſt the ſtudy of a certain notary, whoſe name was Poutrain. The footmen took a nearer way, that they might with leſs difficulty come up with the coach at the end of the ſtreet; ſo that there were only two which followed the coach, and one of theſe went to make way for it to go on, while the other in the mean time took that opportunity to faſten his garter. Ibid.

Ravaillac, who had followed the coach from the Louvre, perceiving that it ſtopped, and that there was no perſon near it, advanced to that ſide where he obſerved the king ſat. His cloak being wrapt round his left arm ſerved to conceal the knife, which he held in his hand; and ſliding between the ſhops and the coach, as if he was attempting to paſs by, like others, he ſupported one foot upon one of the ſpokes of the wheel, and the other upon a ſtone, and, drawing a knife edged on both ſides, gave the king a wound a little above the heart, between the third and fourth rib. His majeſty had juſt then turned towards the duke of Epernon, and was reading a

1609. letter; or, as others ſay, leaning towards the marſhal Lavardin, to whom he was whiſpering. Henry, feeling himſelf ſtruck, cried out, "I am wounded;" and in the ſame inſtant, the aſſaſſin perceiving that the point of his knife had been ſtopped by a rib, he repeated the blow with ſuch quickneſs, that not one of thoſe, who were in the coach, had time to oppoſe, nor even to perceive it. Henry, by raiſing his arm, gave a fairer aim for the ſecond blow, which, according to Péréfixe and L'Etoile, went directly to his heart; and, according to Rigault and the French Mercury, near the auricle of the heart; ſo that the blood guſhing out of his mouth, and from his wound, the unhappy prince expired, breathing a deep ſigh; or, as Matthieu aſſerts, pronouncing with a faint and dying voice, theſe words: "It is nothing." The murderer aimed a third ſtroke at him, which the duke of Epernon received in his ſleeve. Ibid.

It is the opinion of the author of the French Mercury, that Henry IV. died at the firſt blow, "Which, ſaid he, entering "between the fifth and ſixth rib, pierced "the vein within, round the auricle of the "heart, and reached to the vena cava, "which, being cut, that great prince was "in an inſtant deprived of ſpeech and "life. The ſecond ſtroke only grazed the "ſkin, and made no impreſſion." French Mercury.

The writer who has given us the life of the duke of Epernon, thinks, it muſt be confeſſed, in a manner very ſingular. He aſſerts, but without any proof to ſupport his aſſertion, that the duke of Epernon, who ſaw the ſecond blow aimed at the king, raiſed his arm to parry it, and received it, in part, upon the ſleeve of his coat, which was cut. He doubtleſs meant to exalt his hero by relating this circumſtance; but certainly he judged ill to add, that the aſſaſſin, after this ſecond blow, had time to ſtrike a third, more dangerous than the ſecond; and that the king received it full. Strange! that the duke of Epernon ſhould ſo plainly perceive the firſt of theſe blows, as to be able to parry it in part, from himſelf, and the reſt who were in the coach, and yet could not prevent the following blow. The hiſtorian here has proved too much, and but that, happily for him, it is eaſy to convict him of his error, his account might well be turned into an accuſation of the duke of Epernon. Life of the duke of Epernon, part 2d, p. 238.

"It is a moſt amazing thing, that not "one of the lords, who were in the coach "with the king, ſhould have ſeen the "aſſaſſin give the blow; and, if that in-"fernal monſter had thrown away his "knife, they would not have known "whom to charge with it: but he ſtill "held it in his hand, as if to ſhew it, and "gloried in the greateſt and moſt horrid "of all aſſaſſinations that ever was perpe-"trated." Péréfixe ſays the ſame; and this conduct of Ravaillac's is more conformable to the character we have of him, than what the continuator of De Thou relates: that it was the extreme agitation and diſorder of his mind, which prevented his flying, or dropping the poignard. "He "confeſſed, ſays Matthieu, that he ſtruck "his knife into the king's body, as into a "bottle of hay." L'Etoile, ibid.

"The ſix lords, who were in the coach, "got out immediately with ſuch precipi-"tation, that they hindered each other from "ſeizing the parricide. One of them per-"ceiving that the king ſpoke no more, "and that the blood came guſhing from "his mouth, cried out, "The king is "dead." Theſe words immediately oc-"caſioned a great tumult. The people, "who were in the ſtreets, threw them-"ſelves into the neareſt ſhops, one upon "another, with ſuch terror and diſmay, as "if the city had been taken. The duke "of Epernon ſuddenly bethought himſelf "of ſaying, that the king was only "wounded, and had fallen into a ſwoon. "They deſired ſome wine; and, while "ſome of the inhabitants ran eagerly to "get it, they ſhut up the coach doors, and "told the people, that the king was only "wounded; and that they were carrying "him

" him in haſte to the Louvre to get his " wound dreſſed." French Mercury, ibid.

" I ran like one deprived of reaſon, " and, mounting the firſt horſe I found, " galloped to the Louvre. When I came " to the Hôtel de Longueville, I met M. " de Bellancourt returning from the Lou- " vre, who ſaid to me, " He is dead." I " rode on as far as the rails, where the " French and Swiſs guards were then " placed; their pikes lowered. M. Le- " Grand and I got through, and ran to " the king's cloſet, and ſaw him extended " on his bed. M. De-Vic, counſellor of " ſtate, was ſitting by him on the ſame " bed, and had laid his croſs of the order " upon his mouth, putting him in mind of " God. Milon, his firſt phyſician, was " ſitting near the bedſide weeping, and " the ſurgeons who attended to dreſs " his wound; but he was already dead. " We fancied we heard him ſigh, but it " was wind; upon which the firſt phyſi- " cian cried out, " Ah! it is over; he is " gone!" M. Le-Grand, as ſoon as he " entered, kneeled at the ſide of the bed, " and held one of his hands, which he " kiſſed. As for me, I threw myſelf at " his feet, which I held embraced, weep- " ing bitterly. M. de Guiſe came in alſo, " and embraced him, &c." Memoirs of Baſſompierre, Vol. I. p. 297.

" The queen was in her cloſet when this " ſad news was brought to her, and, wild " with grief, came out immediately to ſee " him whom ſhe honoured moſt in the " world, deprived of life; but M. the " chancellor, who was then in council, " and had heard the news there, going up " to her apartment, met her as ſhe was " coming out, and ſtopped her. " Alas!" " ſaid ſhe, as ſoon as ſhe ſaw him, " the " king is dead." He, without betraying " any emotion, replied, " Your majeſty " muſt pardon me, the kings of France " never die." Then, entreating her to " return to her cloſet, " We muſt take " care, ſaid he to her, that our tears do " not ruin our affairs; we muſt reſerve " them for another time: we have need " of remedies, and not of grief." French Mercury, ibid.

1609.

" At five o'clock in the evening it was " no where certainly known, except at " the Louvre, that the king was dead, not " even in the quarter de la-Feronnerie, " where he was killed: they thought he " had been wounded only. The report " reached the Auguſtins before audience " was over; the noiſe and confuſed mur- " murs of the perſons who came into the " court oppoſite to the hall of the great " chamber, encreaſed every moment; and " at length reached the ears of M. de " Blanemeſnil, ſecond preſident of the " great chamber, who was at that time " hearing a cauſe pleaded in the hall: " ſtruck with this noiſe, he roſe up as if " to collect the opinions of the judges " upon it; but, inſtead of ſpeaking to " them on this ſubject, he went back to " the great chamber: the reſt, perſuaded " that this noiſe was occaſioned by ſome " fatal accident, roſe from their ſeats, and " broke off the pleadings. Immediately " they ſent for the king's counſellors of " parliament, and deputed them to the " Louvre to know the ſtate of affairs, and " the will of his majeſty: in the mean " time, the princes, dukes, and great lords, " who were at Paris, haſtened to the Lou- " vre to attend the king as uſual. The " ſieur de Vitry was ordered to aſſemble all " the deceaſed king's children in a cham- " ber, particularly the young king; and " to ſuffer no one to approach them. The " dukes of Guiſe and Epernon were di- " rected to get as many of the nobility as " they could find, to mount their horſes, " and ride through the city; and tell the " people, that the king was not dead, but " only wounded. Le-Jay, lieutenant ci- " vil, and Sanguin, the lord mayor, " had orders to ſhut all the city gates; to " poſſeſs themſelves of the keys; raiſe all " their officers; and to prevent all emo- " tions and mobs in the city. The guards " which were in the ſuburbs, received or- " ders to come and poſt themſelves upon " the pont neuf, in the ſtreet Dauphine,

1609. " and near the Auguſtins, in order to ſur-
" round the parliament, and to force them,
" if neceſſary, to declare the queen regent.
" The king's counſellor of the parliament,
" returning from the Louvre to the arſe-
" nal, found M. the firſt preſident there,
" who had been brought in a chair, to
" whom, and to the chambers aſſembled,
" having confirmed the report of the king's
" death, they began to conſult upon the
" requeſt brought them by the king's
" counſellors. M. de Guiſe and M. de
" Epernon came afterwards into the great
" chamber, being ſent by the queen to ſee
" what was doing there, &c." L'Etoile, Péréfixe, ibid.

" About nine o'clock the ſame night,
" a great number of the lords rode
" through the city, and, as they paſſed,
" ſaid to the people, the king is coming;
" he is well, God be thanked for it. It
" being night, the people thought the
" king was in that company, and cried
" aloud, *Vive le roi.* This cry ſpreading
" from one quarter to another, the whole
" city reſounded with, *Vive le roi.* It was
" only in the quarter of the Louvre, and
" that of the Auguſtins, where the truth
" was known." Ibid.

" At night they dreſt the king's body,
" and waſhed him with the ſame ceremony
" as if he had been alive. M. Du-Maine
" gave him his ſhirt, M. Le-Grand ſerv-
" ed him, and I likewiſe was ordered
" to ſerve him, and to repreſent M.
" de Bouillon." M. Baſſompierre, ibid.

" Saturday, May the 15th, the king's
" body was opened in the preſence of ſix
" and twenty phyſicians and ſurgeons; all
" the parts of which were found to be in
" ſo good a ſtate, that, according to the
" courſe of nature, they judged he might
" have lived thirty years longer. His heart
" was ſmall, but thick, and of cloſe tex-
" ture, and ſurpriſingly ſound: his ſto-
" mach, as the phyſicians and ſurgeons
" ſaid, was the ſtrongeſt that had been
" ever ſeen: his lungs were grown a little
" to his left ſide." Baſſompierre, ibid.

" His entrails were ſent immediately to
" St. Denis, without any pomp. The
" jeſuits demanded the heart, which they
" interred in their chapel of La-Flèche;
" the body embalmed and laid in a leaden
" coffin, inclosed in another of wood, and
" covered with cloth of gold, was placed
" under a canopy in the king's chamber,
" with two altars on each ſide, at which
" maſs was ſaid during eighteen days ſuc-
" ceſſively, after which it was carried to
" St. Denis, &c." Péréfixe, ibid.

See in the ſame hiſtorians ſeveral other intereſting particulars, as well with reſpect to what paſſed in the parliament, and in different parts of Paris, as upon the funeral ceremony obſerved on this occaſion. Upon this laſt article, conſult alſo the royal MSS. Vol. 9361.

The memoirs of that time afford a great number of obſervations, and curious particulars, relating to the aſſaſſination of Henry IV. which we cannot diſpenſe with ourſelves from annexing to the text of our Memoirs. The number and diverſity of them is all that perplexes us; for with reſpect to the perſons who are concerned in them; namely, the jeſuits, the duke of Epernon, and ſeveral of the principal lords of the kingdom, the marchioneſs of Verneuil, and the party ſuppoſed to be headed by her, the officers of the queen's houſhold, and many others; theſe circumſtances are ſo far from doing any injury to their memories, that it will be readily granted their intereſt requires that they ſhould neither be ſuppreſt or diſguiſed; for, ſince all the malignity of their enemies has never been able to prove one ſingle fact againſt them, it neceſſarily follows, that what has been ſaid was mere calumny, invented by wicked and deſigning perſons.

One general remark, and which is equally applicable to all, is ſufficient to prove what I have aſſerted, that thoſe accuſations were founded on calumny only; and this is, that Ravaillac never accuſed, or gave the leaſt room for ſuſpecting that any of thoſe perſons were concerned in the king's aſſaſſination. He conſtantly maintained, that no one was privy to his deſign, which he had conceived

ceived upon being told, that the king was going to make war upon the pope. He never varied from this declaration, and, when he was put to the torture, he ſaid the ſame as he had done at his trial. The moſt dreadful pains could not force him to alter his depoſition: he proteſted, and repeated this proteſtation upon the ſcaffold: That he never had either an accomplice or confidant. "When he was ready to expire, he turned to his confeſſor, and declared he would give him abſolution; for "he had no more to ſay. This the prieſt "refuſed, telling him, that it was forbid "to thoſe who, like him, had been guilty "of high treaſon, unleſs he diſcloſed his "accomplices. "Give it me, ſaid Ravaillac, upon condition that the declaration I have made, that I had no accomplices, be true." "I will give it you "upon that condition, replied the confeſſor; but aſſure yourſelf, if you tell a lye "in theſe moments, your ſoul, at its ſeparation from your body, will be carried "directly to hell." "I accept and receive it upon that condition, ſaid Ravaillac." And theſe were the laſt words "he ſpoke to Meſſieurs de Filleſac and "Gamache, two men of great candour "and honeſty, and the moſt able doctors "of the Sorbonne." Words which deſerve great notice, ſince they are recorded by him, who, of all the writers on this ſubject, has ſhewn moſt prejudice and malice. Memoirs for a Hiſtory of France, page 323.

After this deciſive remark, I ſhall begin with what relates to the jeſuits, who have been leſs ſpared than any of the others, and whom our author in the following book attacks the firſt, tho' he does not name them. But here I think myſelf obliged to relate what appears a very ſingular confeſſion in a great critic, who profeſſes that he does not fear the ſociety, and will ſpare no one whatever. "I had the curioſity "ſays he, to read the anſwer made by the "jeſuits to the accuſations of their ene"mies, their reply to that, and the jeſuits "farther vindication of themſelves; and "it appeared to me, that in many caſes "their accuſers were at a loſs, which "perſuades me that many things have been "charged upon them, for which there "were no proofs, but eaſily believed at "the inſtigation of prejudiced perſons." In effect, there is nothing more ſolid, or better founded, in the declamations of Morizot, and a great number of anonymous writers. Bayle's Select Letters, Vol. I. Letter 230. 1609.

I ſhall now proceed to the examination of ſome words, attributed to a jeſuit in a conference with Ravaillac: *My friend, do not vomit good men.* "Father Cotton went "likewiſe to Ravaillac, and bid him take "care of accuſing the innocent; words "which did not paſs unnoticed. He af"terwards would have perſuaded him, if "he could, that he was a proteſtant, ſay"ing, that he could never believe that a "Roman catholic was capable of commit"ing ſo horrid an action: but Ravaillac "derided father Cotton, tho' a jeſuit, as "well as the reſt, whom he ſent away "with jeſts and pleaſantry. "You would "be aſtoniſhed, ſaid he to ſome of them "who were queſtioning him, if I ſhould "tell you that it was you yourſelf who "ſet me on." He did not ſay this to father Cotton; for, wicked as he was, he "had ſome ſcruples of conſcience remain"ing that would not ſuffer him to ſlander "the brothers of the ſociety." Journal of the Reign of Henry IV. anno 1610.

Peter Matthieu, in his particular Hiſtory of the death of Henry IV. p. 116, ſays, "That the queen believing, if the inhu"man parricide could be led to repent of "his crime, he would more freely own "who they were that urged him to com"mit it, thought it neceſſary that he ſhould "be viſited by the doctors and clergy, who "might put his mind into ſuch a frame, "that he would have greater fears of eter"nal than temporal torments." Father Cotton therefore might be of the number of theſe eccleſiaſtics; but the author does not mention him in particular, and is wholly ſilent with reſpect to the words which

1609. which have been attributed to him. He does not tell us that this father, when he accofted Ravaillac, called him *my friend*. The prior of Orleans fays not a word of this fact in his life of father Cotton, where it was natural for him to mention it, and where he has been as particular, with refpect to this father, as Matthieu has been in every thing relating to the death of Henry the Great.

" Two circumftances, fays Mézerai, " were obferved, of which the reader may " judge as he pleafes; one was, that, when " Ravaillac was feized, feven or eight " men came up to him with fwords in " their hands, and faid loudly, that he " ought to be flain directly; but they im- " mediately concealed themfelves in the " crowd: the other, that the parricide was " not carried to prifon at firft, but was " put into the hands of Montigny, and " remained two days in the Hôtel de Rais, " where he was fo carelefsly guarded, that " all forts of people were allowed to fpeak " to him: among others, an eccleiiaftic, " who had received great obligations from " the deceafed king, accofting him, called " him *friend*, and bid him take care not to " accufe good men." Mézerai, it is plain, has copied the firft of thefe obfervations from P. Matthieu, who fays that it was the baron de Courtaumar, who, drawing his fword againft thefe men, forced them to fhelter themfelves in the crowd: but I do not fee what inference is to be drawn from the former of thefe two facts related by Mézerai, except that thofe men, tranfported with rage and grief for the death of the beft of kings, were eager to punifh the impious aflaffin; and as for the other fact, after what has been juft faid in the foregoing remark, it muft be allowed to be very doubtful and hazardous, upon a fuppofition, that by the eccleiiaftic, who had great obligations to the king, the author means father Cotton: but indeed, if this father did go to fee Ravaillac, and if he really faid thofe words, *My friend, do not accufe good men*, what ought to be inferred from an expreffion of gentlenefs and chriftian charity, which neither directly nor indirectly prefents any thing criminal to the mind. Abr. Hift. and Chron. Vol. III. p. 1450.

Here follows, what is ftill, in different writings, to be found againft the jefuits on this occafion: " Father D'Aubigny, " who had confeffed Ravaillac, was privately " interrogated by the firft prefident upon " the fecret confeffion, but he could draw " nothing from him except this: that " God, who to fome men had given the " gift of languages, to others the gift of " prophecy, revelation, &c. had on him " beftowed the gift of forgetfulnefs of con- " feffions. Moreover, added he, we, " who are eccleiiaftics, know nothing of " the world: we do not mix in its affairs, " or heed what paffes in it." " Rather, " replied the firft prefident, you know too " much, and are too far concerned in its " bufinefs; and, if you were not more fo " than you own you are, things had gone " better." Memoirs for a Hiftory of France, ib. p. 320, 321.

Thefe laft circumftances relating to father D'Aubigny, are certainly the moft fevere of all that have been urged againft the jefuits. It was well known, that Ravaillac, in his depofitions, acknowledged that he was acquainted with this jefuit; that he had been prefent when he faid mafs; that he had imparted to him his vifions; the trouble of his mind, &c. He was confronted with this father, who maintained to Ravaillac himfelf, that he had never feen him, and that all he had faid concerning him was falfe. The French Mercury, far more deferving to be credited than any of the writers I have quoted, becaufe the author fpeaks fo fully and with fo much clearnefs of this affair, that one fees, in a manner, the whole proceedings of the trial; he, after giving a minute account of every circumftance of their examination, adds, " Father D'Aubigny " faid to Ravaillac, that he was very wick- " ed; and that, after perpetrating fo hor- " rid a fact, he ought not to accufe any " one falfly, nor add to the number of his " fins."

" fins." Ravaillac being told, that, if he " had any charge to bring againſt father " D'Aubigny, he muſt do it then, repli- " ed, that he had not any; that he looked " upon him to be an honeſt man, and a " good prieſt; and that he would believe " him. In like manner the ſaid D'Au- " bigny having notice given him to make " his objections againſt the witneſs, and " that according to the ordinance, he would " not be admitted to make them, if not " immediately, he ſaid he had no more to " ſay, but that he was a wicked man, and " a moſt audacious liar." French Mercury, anno 1610.

Ravaillac's ſilence to theſe reproaches may well paſs for a conviction of the calumny. This circumſtance of the trial may be ſeen at large in the book itſelf. Matthieu ſays it was Servin, the king's advocate, who interrogated father D'Aubigny, and that this was the anſwer: " That ever ſince he " had, by the orders of his ſuperiors, quit- " ed preaching to apply himſelf wholly to " hearing confeſſions, God had beſtowed " the ſingular grace upon him of effacing " immediately from his memory whatever " was ſaid to him under the ſeal of con- " feſſion." But this writer, tho' an ene- my of the jeſuits, does not mention the firſt preſident's malicious reply to him; and doubtleſs he is more deſerving of belief, than the Memoirs for the Hiſtory of France; becauſe he was living at that time, and was moſt particularly intereſted in the memory of Henry IV. who had honoured him with his favour. Paſquier, the great enemy of the jeſuits, by not accuſing them of any thing, ſhews plainly enough, that he be- lieved them innocent. Hiſtory of Henry IV. ib. Letters of Nicholas Paſquier.

" On Sunday, May 23, Father Portu- " gais, a cordelier, and ſome curates of " Paris; among others, the curates of the " pariſhes of St. Bartholomew and St. " Paul, in dark ambiguous words, and " hints ſcarcely intelligible, taxed the je- " ſuits with being accomplices in the king's " aſſaſſination, arguing againſt them from " their own books and writings; namely, " thoſe of Mariana and Becanus. It was 1609. " alſo propoſed, ſays the ſame author " whom I now quote, to forbid the jeſuits " the public pulpits. However, they went " no farther than to order Mariana's book " to be burnt by the hands of the common " hangman, which was done accordingly, " June 8, before the church of Notre " Dame. This book openly defended the " deed of brother Clément, and has been " twice printed; the firſt time in folio, " the ſecond in octavo. In the firſt edi- " tion, he calls this brother, *æternum galliæ* " *decus*; but theſe three words are left out " in the ſecond edition, which I have be- " fore me." Memoirs for the Hiſtory of France, ib. p. 325.

If all the authors who have written upon the ſame principles with thoſe of Mariana and Becanus, were to be accuſed of having contributed to the king's murder, " A cri- " minal proceſs might be entered againſt " John Petit, a doctor of the Sorbonne, " whoſe opinions were rejected by the " council of Conſtance; likewiſe againſt " the celebrated John Gerſon, James Al- main, Richer, John Boucher of the ſame " college and ſociety. Can they be igno- " rant that an extraordinary aſſembly was " held among the doctors of the Sorbonne, " to proceed to the apotheoſis of James " Clement, the aſſaſſinator of Henry III. " and that among that great number of " doctors, which compoſed the aſſem- " bly, only one, named John Poi- " tevin, was againſt it? In thoſe mi- " ſerable times, a furious hatred and miſ- " guided zeal extinguiſhed the natural " lights of reaſon; and however revolting " that doctrine might be, which teaches " that it is ſometimes lawful to murder " kings, however oppoſite to ſcripture and " reaſon, yet, to the ſhame of humanity, " and the diſgrace of religion, that doctrine " prevailed. Mariana, a Spaniſh jeſuit, " in a book entitled De Rege & Regis In- " ſtitutione, held in effect that it was " ſometimes allowable to murder tyrants, " tho' elſewhere he teaches, that a lawful " prince cannot be killed or deprived of " his

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" his authority by an individual. The " enemies of the jeſuits advance, that it " was from this book Ravaillac had taken " his firſt leſſon, which he practiſed but " too well. It is certain, however, that " he never read the book, knew nothing " of it, and did not underſtand Latin well " enough to read it; but theſe reaſonings " are the effects of paſſion and prejudice. " Father Aquaviva, to hinder the raſhneſs " of ſome writers from raiſing ſuch ca- " lumnies againſt the jeſuits for the future, " on the 8th of July forbad all the ſubjects " of the ſociety, upon pain of being ex- " communicated and ſuſpended from ex- " erciſing any of the ſacred functions, to " ſpeak or write any thing which could " authorize, in any manner, or under any " pretence, the parricide of kings, whom, " by the law of God, ſays he, we are " commanded to honour and reſpect, as " ſacred perſons placed by his hands upon " the throne." Chronol. and Dogm. Vol. I. p. 115, and following.

What is here ſaid of Mariana may with equal juſtice be applied to Becan; but, among all theſe accuſations, I ſee only one in which there is any probability: which is that drawn from the book of this Spaniſh jeſuit, condemned by the parliament as being capable of arming ſubjects againſt their ſovereign, but in reality what ought to be inferred from thence to the prejudice of the French jeſuits, what proofs could a book furniſh againſt them, which was written by a foreigner, and in the year 1606 publicly condemned as a moſt pernicious piece, and even rejected by the jeſuits themſelves?

" The queen, who was deſirous that " Father Cotton and the abbe Du-Bois, " the declared enemy of that father and " the whole ſociety, ſhould be reconciled, " permited him to have a conference with " that abbe, which laſted four hours, at " the houſe of the lieutenant-civil; but, " not being able to agree, father Cotton, " to take him at ſome diſadvantage, at " length aſked him if he thought the jeſuits " had been the cauſe of the late king's " aſſaſſination, and if he believed that he " had killed him. " No," replied the " abbe Du-Bois. " For, if I thought ſo, " I would this inſtant, ſaid he, ſwearing " a great oath, hoiſt you up by the throat " and ſtrangle you, and then throw you " out of the window." Father Cotton " afterwards aſked him if the jeſuits were " not catholics. " Oh yes, anſwered he, " ſuch catholics as the devil is." Journal of the reign of Henry IV. by P. L'Etoile, p. 233.

" On Tueſday, May 25, there was a " quarrel betwixt M. de Loménie and fa- " ther Cotton, in full council. Loménie " told him, that it was he and his ſecretary " who had murdered the king, whereupon " the members of the council repreſenting to " him that he ought to be more moderate " in his expreſſions, he ſaid, that his grief " for the death of his good maſter might " force him into ſome intemperance of " language, but that he would not ſpeak " but in the queen's preſence. At the " ſame time Beringhen quarrelled with " De-Lorme, firſt phyſician to the queen, " who ſupported the jeſuits, and ſaid " things as ſevere to him as Loménie had " done to father Cotton."

Is it ſurpriſing that perſons under the influence of paſſion, and in thoſe moments when they ſuffer themſelves to be carried away by their conjectures, prejudices, and particular enmities, ſhould utter invectives, and make reproaches which they cannot prove? At ſuch times they often ſay things which they do not believe, and which, when their reaſon is leſs clouded, they inwardly diſavow.

John Du-Bois, abbe of Beaulieu, being a ſhort time after obliged to quit the kingdom, was arreſted at Rome, and put into the priſons of the inquiſition, either at the ſuit of the jeſuits, or of the procurator-general of celeſtin monks; for he had formerly been of that order, and quitted it without giving an account of the money which had been depoſited in his hands. He had afterwards born arms, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the ſervice of Henry III. who uſed to call him

the emperor of the monks: after that, he reſumed the eccleſiaſtic habit, and was celebrated for his preaching. Whatever was the cauſe, he was detained in thoſe priſons till the year 1626, which was the ſame year in which he died, being a few days after he was reſtored to his liberty by pope Gregory XV. Memoirs for a Hiſtory of France, French Mercury, and Moreri.

In L'Etoile, La-Varenne makes a very ſingular ſpeech to the jeſuits at his return from La-Fléche, whither he had accompanied them in the ceremony of bearing the king's heart to their chapel. Having entertained them all to the number of twenty-four at dinner, he continued his diſcourſe to them (the former part of which had been pretty ſevere) in this manner: "I will not ſcruple to tell you, ſaid he, "that there is a very bad report concern-"ing you circulated in this city, which "has come to my ears; that there are "among you ſome who were abettors of "and accomplices, in the wicked aſſaſſina-"tion of the deceaſed king. Hitherto I "have not believed it; but, if I ſhould "ever happen to diſcover any thing againſt "you, I declare that I will have you all "ſeized one after the other, and hang you "in my ſtables." Such was La-Varenne's harrangue to the jeſuits; but it was time, ſay they, to ſhut the ſtable-door when the ſteed was ſtolen. Ibid, p. 176.

As this ſpeech of La-Varenne's is not mentioned in any of the beſt authors of his time, there is good reaſon to think it one of thoſe idle and ridiculous tales fit to amuſe the populace, and gratify the malice and prejudice of an enemy who finds reaſon and probability in every thing that is conformable to his paſſion.

The ſame author, ſpeaking of the provoſt-marſhal of Pluviers, ſays, that he had two ſons who were both jeſuits, and endeavours to prove that they were acceſſary to the king's aſſaſſination; but it is evident that nothing could be more unjuſt than the reaſonings of this writer, or more falſe than his concluſions, with reſpect to the provoſt of Pluviers: for why indeed ſhould it be aſſerted, that the jeſuits were in a combination with that provoſt, becauſe he had two ſons in the ſociety? It would not follow from thence that they had contributed to Ravaillac's crime, unleſs it could be proved, which it is impoſſible to do, that the provoſt hanged himſelf through his fear of falling into the hands of juſtice, for having, in concert with the jeſuits, endeavoured to inſpire Ravaillac with a reſolution to complete his horrid deſign: but this baſe calumny is refuted by the French Mercury, who, after obſerving that all which had been ſaid againſt the jeſuits had been taken from L'Anti-Cotton, the Thanks of the Butter-woman, and ſuch like writings, "They ought ſurely, ſaid he, to "agree in their ſatires, ſince they all pro-"ceed from the ſame mouth. Of theſe "two books, the firſt was not printed till "the middle of September, and the other "towards the end of October; and it was "always thought this provoſt hanged him-"ſelf becauſe inſtruments for coining had "been found upon him, having practiſed "the art of coining, and been guilty of "other crimes in his office, for which he "knew he could not avoid death; and "not for the above mentioned accuſation, "which was raiſed againſt him at the in-"ſtigation of his enemies." French Mercury, anno 1610. 1610.

That very obſervation, that nothing was alledged againſt the jeſuits, at that time, which was not taken from the moſt contemptible libels, is alone a ſufficient anſwer to all other calumnies of that nature; and after ſome words which eſcaped one of the moſt furious enemies this ſociety ever had, it ought no longer to be doubted. This Anti-jeſuit, ſaid he, appeared about that time, and, except low abuſe, it will be found to contain nothing. The author was a young man named Boneſtat. The factor of Guillemot was impriſoned for it. The Catholicon of Saumur appeared likewiſe; a work made up of bad and good. La-Barillierie, who is a free-ſpeaker, meeting two jeſuits ſome days after the king's aſſaſſination, "Gentlemen, ſaid he, I think

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" you are jeſuits: there is a merchant at " Chatelleraut who has very good knives " to ſell; perhaps you may find ſome that " will ſuit you there." This is not a proof, but a witticiſm, which pleaſes not on account of the truth there is in it, but for its malicious and ſatyrical turn. Memoirs for a Hiſtory of France, ib. p. 353.

" Divray, a clerk of the court, told one " of my friends the next day, that as they " were conducting mademoiſelle Coman, " the ſame who has been formerly men- " tioned, before the council, ſhe ſaid to " him; " I revealed to the jeſuits, in con- " feſſion, all I knew of this conſpiracy, and " they entreated me not to mention it." Certainly the jeſuits were greatly concerned in what this girl alledged: how comes it then that the writers of thoſe times, who have been ſo particular in their relations, have taken no notice of this circumſtance? Ibid, p. 358.

Nor is it leſs eaſy to refute the following citations againſt the ſeveral perſons we have named; indeed they carry their refutation along with them, by comprehending, in the ſame accuſation, perſons who were not only without connection of friendſhip or intereſt, but were declared enemies, and publicly known to be ſuch: I mean the queen and the marchioneſs of Verneuil, and their partizans. For the ſame reaſon, therefore, we think ourſelves diſpenſed with from joining to each quotation reflections which would greatly ſwell theſe notes, and which muſt neceſſarily occur to every judicious reader.

" The Sunday before the Wedneſday on " which the king was murdered, being the " 9th of May, this ſoldier, a wicked lewd " fellow, and who, ſays the author a few " lines above, had formerly been a prieſt, " met the widow of captain St. Matthieu, " a huguenot, a little beyond the gate St. " Antony, on the road from Charenton, " and, knowing her, he accoſted her, and, " after ſome diſcourſe, aſked her if ſhe ſtill " lived at Paris. She told him ſhe did " And what are you doing there ſo long?" " ſaid the ſoldier. " Doing, ſhe replied, " I have a great deal of buſineſs to tranſ- " act." " Faith, returned he, if I was in " your place, no law ſuit or buſineſs what- " ever ſhould keep me there; and it is be- " cauſe I wiſh you well that I advise you " to get out of Paris." " But why do " you wiſh me out of Paris?" ſaid ſhe. " Becauſe, reſumed the ſoldier, before " eight days are paſt, it is in danger of " ſuffering ſo great a diſaſter, that happy " will it be for them who are at a diſtance " from it. I therefore adviſe you, as a " friend, to quit Paris as ſoon as poſſible, " and believe what I ſay to you." When " they came to the entry of the church, " where the ſermon was not yet begun, " the ſoldier ſaid he would not hear the " ſermon. " But," ſaid he, laughing, " I " will go and examine the diſpoſition of " your guards, who are a multitude of " poor miſerable wretches, ranged on each " ſide like two hedges." Then looking " at them, " Behold thoſe lame ſtragglers, " ſaid he to this woman, which we are " accuſtomed to ſee in Paris at the entrance " of our churches; do you not obſerve " thoſe ſoldiers who are amongſt them? " I know them every one; they are all " robbers; four of them in particular, " whom I ſee there, are deſtined for four " terrible exploits: but the wickedeſt, and " moſt determined of them all, I do not " ſee." Saying this, he took leave of the " woman, and went away. Upon the " Wedneſday following, when the king " was aſſaſſinated, ſhe begun to reflect " upon what the ſoldier had ſaid to her, " and the Sunday after, being in doubt " whether ſhe ought to go to Charenton, " hearing that others had ſet the example, " ſhe reſolved to follow it, and upon the " road again met the ſoldier, to whom, in " great ſurprize, ſhe ſaid, " I think you " are a prophet; I ſhall believe you another " time: but I hope we ſhall ſuffer no " more." " This is nothing yet, ſaid the " ſoldier; all is not over; there are other " ſtrokes to follow this, equally wicked, " and much more dangerous; and, ſince, " you are reſolved to believe me for the " future,

" future, take my council, and leave your " abode as ſoon as poſſible."

" Upon giving immediate information " of this diſcourſe to the miniſters of the " church, among others to M. Durand, " he procured her, by means of one of his " friends, acceſs to M. Deſunctis, who " having heard what ſhe had to ſay, and " got intelligence from her where this ſol- " dier dwelt, and at what hour he might " be ſpoke with, he went to his lodgings " at ten o'clock at night, and ſeizing him " without any difficulty, lodged him in " a place of ſecurity. The great proba- " bility there was in this ſtory made many " perſons hope that at length there would " be a full diſcovery of this deplored and " moſt abominable enterprize, if the vile " methods of proceeding uſed in the affair, " had not deſtroyed all the good effects " that might have been expected from the " diſcoveries already made; but ſuch was " the conduct obſerved in it, that one " would imagine we were afraid of ſhew- " ing ourſelves too ſevere and exact, in " ſearching into a crime the moſt barbarous " and moſt wicked that has ever been per- " petrated in Europe for upwards of a thou- " ſand years." L'Etoile's Journal, page 150, and following.

" Tueſday, May 18, the court being " aſſembled, deliberated upon the forms " and proceedings to be uſed in the trial " and condemnation of that moſt deteſti- " ble parricide and aſſaſſin of his king, " Francis Ravaillac; but it was more eſ- " pecially conſidered in this aſſembly what " tortures ſhould be uſed to extort a con- " feſſion from this miſerable wretch. It " was reſolved that he ſhould be put to ex- " traordinary tortures, and thoſe of the " moſt cruel kind: even foreign ones were " propoſed, and, among others, that of " Geneva, which was called the *barathe*, or " *beurriere*, a torture ſo violent, that it is " ſaid none, on whom it was tried, but " was forced by it to confeſs. Upon this " the opinions of the aſſembly were divi- " ded; the oldeſt and the beſt approved of " its being tried, the others wavering be- " tween both, and apt to change their opi- " nions every moment, reſolved upon no- " thing; therefore moſt of thoſe who are " only determined by gain, having given " their votes, *in mitiorem (ſic dicerem)* " carried the vote that day by a great ma- " jority." Ibid, p. 154. 1610.

" According to the ſaid arret, he was " put to the torture in order to oblige him " to reveal his accomplices: what paſſed " is ſtill a ſecret to all but the court." French Mercury, anno 1610, fol. 454.

" A certain infamous fellow, having " publicly railed at the deceaſed king, " and praiſed Ravaillac, ſaying that he had " performed a noble act, was ſeized and " brought priſoner to Paris. The infor- " mations againſt him, as thoſe againſt " Maçon, were laid before the chancellor, " but have ſtill remained a ſecret, nor has " there been any mention made of bring- " ing them to juſtice." Memoirs for the Hiſtory of France, Vol. II. p. 324.

" When the aſſaſſin was brought to the " place of puniſhment, and upon the point " of being torn in pieces by the horſes, " obſerving that a certain man, who was " near the ſcaffold, had alighted from his " horſe to put it in the place of one " which had been tired with dragging him: " They deceived me, ſaid he, when they " told me that the action I was going to " commit would be pleaſing to the people, " ſince they themſelves furniſh horſes to " tear me in pieces." A proof, adds the " author in the margin, that he had been " incited by ſome perſons to commit that " execrable fact, and that he had accom- " plices." Ib. p. 322.

Here follows what relates to the provoſt of Pluviers: " The provoſt of Pluviers or " Petiviers, a city in Beauce, diſtant about " two days journey from Paris, was ac- " cuſed of having ſaid, the ſame day, that " the king was murdered; *this day the* " *king is either ſlain or wounded.* Being " brought priſoner to Paris, he was found " dead in the priſon, ſtrangled with the " ſtrings of his drawers. He was hanged " by the feet in the Greve, on the 19th

1610. " of June." French Mercury, anno 1610.

L'Etoile, after relating the ſame fact, adds the following circumſtances: " This " infamous man, whoſe wickedneſs was " publicly known, and who had two ſons " of the order of the jeſuits, *quod notandum*, acknowledged by every one to be " a very bad ſubject to the king, but a " good ſervant to the family of Entragues " and the marchioneſs of Verneuil, and " known to be a rogue and extortioner, " was accuſed of having ſaid, in Pluviers, " while he was playing, or looking upon " others who were playing, at bowls, in " a garden, at the very time the king was " murdered, *The king is juſt now murdered; he is dead, depend upon it*; and, ſome days " before, he had uſed words to the ſame " purpoſe, or very near it, which was not " taken notice of till the thing happened, " which made them believe that the old " villain knew ſomething of the enterprize, " and was one of the accomplices of that " vile aſſaſſin: ſo that, being carefully " watched, and eagerly purſued, he was at " length taken and brought to Paris, where " he was confined in the Conciergerie du " Palais, where, a ſhort time afterwards, " to their great aſtoniſhment, they found " him dead, being ſtrangled with the " ſtrings of his drawers. The parliament " had him tried, tho' dead, and found him " guilty of the crime of high treaſon; but, " after all, *dead men do not ſpeak*, which " was what they wanted; for, if he had " ſpoke, he might have ſaid too much for " the honour and advantage of many per- " ſons whom they had no inclination to " hurt. This was what was believed by " all the people about Pluviers, who uſed " to exclaim, *Good God, how fortunate is " the death of this wicked man for M. " D'Entragues, the marchioneſs of Ver- " neuil his daughter, and the whole fami- " ly.* Upon this miſerable wretch was " found a tool and an inſtrument made uſe " of in coining, called a mold. It was " ſaid, that he had been guilty of that " practice; but this inſtrument was found " to be a tool for breaking iron gates, and " bars of iron, even of the largeſt ſize, " like thoſe in the Baſtile, in order to get " the count of Auvergne from thence." Journal of the Reign of [illegible], page 183.

" The queen ſent for Dan[illegible] the phyſi- " cian, a man whom the king detested, " and would never ſuffer in his preſence, " and even forbid the queen to employ. " She, however, retained him for her phy- " ſician, made him one of her council, " with large appointments, and all to ob- " lige Conchini, who, it was ſaid, bore " with great fortitude the death of the " king." In the margin it is written, " The public were perſuaded, that his " wife and he had greatly contributed to " the king's aſſaſſination." Memoirs for the Hiſtory of France, Vol. II. p. 309.

" On Sunday, January the 30th, the " marchioneſs of Verneuil was, upon the " depoſitions of mademoiſelle Coman, in- " terrogated by M. the firſt preſident at " his houſe. Her examination laſted from " one o'clock in the afternoon till five. " She is thus called, Henrietta de Balzac " D'Entragues, marchioneſs of Verneuil, " miſtreſs to king Henry IV. She was " accuſed by La-Coman; yet was decreed " to be heard but once, although the affair " was the king's aſſaſſination, and the " crime high treaſon." Ib. p. 358.

" The next day the queen ſent a gentle- " man to the firſt preſident, to deſire he " would ſend her his opinion concerning " this proceſs, to whom the good man re- " plied, " You may tell the queen, that " God has reſerved me to live in an age " to ſee and hear things ſo ſtrange, as I " never thought I could have heard or " ſeen." One of his friends and mine ſay- " ing to him, that it was almoſt the gene- " ral opinion that this young woman, by " her accuſing ſo many perſons, and of the " higheſt rank in the kingdom, ſpoke at " random, and without any proofs; the " firſt preſident, raiſing his eyes to heaven, " and ſhrugging up his ſhoulders, replied, " There are but too many, there are but " too many." Ibid.

" Monſieur

1610.

" Monſieur D'Epernon at the ſame time, " who was moſt intereſted in this affair, " and who eagerly puſhed on the proceſs " againſt this girl, that ſhe might be put " to death, went generally for that pur- " poſe to the council, and made a viſit to " the firſt preſident to hear what had " paſſed; but that gentleman, with his " accuſtomed gravity, and aſperity of " countenance, which thoſe, eſpecially " whom he did not like, were ſure to " meet with from him, repulſed him diſ- " dainfully, ſaying, " I am not your " news-monger but your judge." The " duke telling him, that he aſked him as " friend, " I have no friends, replied " the preſident; I will do you juſtice: be " ſatisfied with that." M. D'Epernon, " returning in great diſcontent, went and " complained to the queen, who imme- " diately diſpatched a meſſenger to the " firſt preſident, to tell him, that ſhe " had been informed, he had treated the " duke of Epernon ill, and that it was her " deſire he ſhould, for the future, behave " with more reſpect to him, in conſidera- " tion of his high quality. To this, the " firſt preſident replied: " I have been a " judge fifty years, thirty of which I have " had the honour to preſide in the ſovereign " court of the peers of this kingdom, and, " during that time, I never ſaw any lord, " duke, or peer, of what quality ſoever, " who was accuſed of high treaſon, who " came before his judges booted and ſpur- " red, as M. D'Epernon has done, and " with his ſword by his ſide. Do not fail " to tell the queen this." This was a " freedom becoming a firſt preſident. I " ſhould not record this ſpeech of his here, " if I did not certainly know it to be " true."

" If it be aſked, ſays M. de Péréfixe, " who were the furies, the fiends, that " ſuggeſted to him ſo damnable a deſign, " and urged him to carry it into execution, " hiſtory replies, that it is ignorant, and " that, upon an action of ſuch conſe- " quence, it is not allowable to give ſuſ- " picions and conjectures for certain " truths: the judges themſelves, who in- " terrogated the criminal, durſt not open " their mouths, and never mentioned it, " but with geſtures of horror and aſtoniſh- " ment." Péréfixe's Hiſtory of Henry the Great, Part III. p. 410.

The continuator of de Thou's Latin Hiſtory ſays, that two different opinions prevailed upon this ſubject; ſome were perſuaded that the aſſaſſination of Henry IV. was the work of ſome great lords of the kingdom, who ſacrificed this prince to their ancient reſentment; others believed that it was Spain who ſtruck this blow by the partizans ſhe had in France: and this writer adds, that the preſident de Thou, and the ableſt heads in the parliament, was of this latter opinion. He likewiſe mentions letters from Bruſſels, Antwerp, Malines, and Bolduc, before the 15th of May, which expreſſed that it was commonly reported in thoſe provinces, that Henry IV. had been murdered. Nic. Rigalt, anno 1610. Vol. VI. p. 492.

That paſſage from L'Etoile, which I quoted a little before, may, if granted to be of any authority, give room for a third opinion; namely, that this plot, or rather all theſe different plots, were to end in a rebellion, and even a kind of ſecond maſſacre in Paris; and that this was not executed, becauſe the conſpirators ſeeing the king dead, which was the great and principal object they had in view, thought it needleſs to proceed any farther.

And here I cannot diſpence with myſelf from mentioning ſome writings, which may be found in the fourth volume of L'Etoile's Journal, lately printed under the title of Pièces juſtificatives. Some of them relate to the affair and proceſs of Mademoiſelle Coman. They add nothing, or very little, to what has been already ſaid. The others are:

Firſt, a manuſcript which the author pretends had been found in the cabinet of the duke D'Aumale (Charles de Lorrain, ſecond ſon of Claude) who died in the Low Countries in the year 1631. In this manuſcript, which heavily charges the je-

ſuits

1610. ſides and the count of Auvergne, although in priſon at the time, it is related, that the duke of Epernon, who was in the coach with his majeſty, ſeeing him wounded to death, (theſe are his words) "Stabbed him "in the ſide with a knife, that he might "be ſooner out of pain. The duke of "Montbazon, adds he, ſaw the duke of "Epernon ſtab the king, but did not take "any notice of it, becauſe he favoured "this aſſaſſination."

The ſecond of theſe pieces is entitled, The meeting between the duke of Epernon and Francis Ravaillac. It is there aſſerted, that this duke, being at Angoulême, ſent for Ravaillac and two other accomplices of his, and he and father Cotton exhorted them to poignard the king, giving for a reaſon, that this prince was an enemy to the Pope, the king of Spain, and the catholic religion, which he was going to aboliſh in Europe; and that, after they had made them ſwear to perform this, receiving the communion upon it from father Cotton, they gave them each two hundred crowns. The aſſaſſins then took the road to Paris, where, having ſtaid a long time, without meeting with an opportunity of executing their enterpriſe, they obliged D'Epernon to give each of them a hundred crowns more; that, when the moment for perpetrating the parricide approached, the duke of Epernon, as he had agreed upon beforehand with Ravaillac, amuſed the king with ſome diſcourſe, and then the horrid villain, throwing himſelf upon the king, gave him a wound with a knife; but the ſaid duke perceiving that it was very ſlight, and that the king cried out, I am wounded, he made a ſign to him to repeat the ſtroke, whereupon this execrable wretch, with a ſecond blow, ſtruck the king into the heart; ſo that he expired immediately. All theſe imputations, to be found only in contemptible libels, deſerve leſs, that we ſhould ſhew their falſhood and inconſiſtency than the former. See Paſquier's letter to M. de Monac, in which he juſtifies the duke of Epernon.

The other pieces relate to the ſtory of Peter Du-Jardin, known by the name of captain de La-Garde, of whom we have already had occaſion to ſpeak. From theſe we learn, that Du-Jardin was a native of Rouen: he ſerved at firſt in the regiment of guards, afterwards in the light horſe: he then went to Provence, where he was employed by the duke of Guiſe in his majeſty's ſervice. Marſhal Biron knew him when he ſerved in the light horſe, and attached him to himſelf on account of his great bravery. After the peace of Savoy, he went into the ſervice of the republic of Venice, where he continued till ſhe made peace with the Pope. He then went to ſerve in Germany under the duke De Mercœur. He again returned to Venice, from whence, after a ſhort ſtay at Florence and Rome, he came to Naples. In this city he became acquainted with a refugee, named La-Bruyerre, who had been a leaguer: by him he was introduced to a jeſuit, called father Alagon uncle to the duke of Lerma, the king of Spain's favourite. This jeſuit, being deſirous to make uſe of ſo brave a man in the deſign that was projected of aſſaſſinating Henry IV. joined him with Hébert, marſhal Biron's ſecretary, who has been mentioned in our Memoirs, with Lewis D'Aix, mentioned likewiſe in the account of the reduction of Marſeilles, and with another Provincial, called Roux, all of them French refugees.

In one of their parties of pleaſure Ravaillac was introduced to them, who diſcloſed to them all his deſigns, and told them, that he brought a letter from the duke of Epernon for the viceroy of Naples. La-Garde, having now got ſufficient intelligence of every thing that was projecting, went to Zamet, ambaſſador from France to Venice, to diſcover all he knew. This ambaſſador ſent him immediately to M. De-Bréves, our ambaſſador at Rome, and to Zamet, his brother, at Paris. De-Bréves gave La-Garde letters for M. de Villeroi, with which he returned to Paris in the train of the duke of Nevers, who at Fontainebleau preſented him to his majeſty. Henry IV. after telling him that he would take

take proper measures to render these designs upon his person ineffectual, ordered this officer to accompany the grand marshal of Poland into Germany, and to take care of his interests there. La-Garde, returning to France with advices of great importance from the grand marshal of Poland, was at Francfort informed of the king's death. He retired to Metz greatly indisposed, from whence he followed marshal de La-Chatre to the expedition of Juliers. After the peace, as he was upon his journey to France, he was attacked near the village of Fize by some armed men, who gave him several wounds, and left him for dead in a ditch. La-Garde made shift to get to Mézieres, where the duke of Nevers then was, who caused him to be conducted to Paris, where, upon presenting a petition to the king, he obtained the office of comptroller-general of Bierres; but, when he least expected such treatment, he was seized and carried to prison. Before judgment was pronounced, which could not but be favourable, because his judges found him absolutely innocent of every thing charged upon him, an exempt came to take him out of prison, and delivered him a brevet for a yearly pension of six hundred livres; and his patent for the office of comptroller-general of Bierres: it appears that he retired to Rouen, and died there.

Another writer of still later date, who has restored the five interrogatories of Ravaillac, in the volume of manuscripts, marked 192, of the king's library (for the French Mercury mentions only the four last, which are abridged and related in an historical manner, and says not a word of the first) believes that in them may be found proofs that the criminal endeavoured to impose upon his judges, and did not make a full confession; and that his judges, on their side, seemed to be afraid of asking him how he came to be known to the duke of Epernon. He has not the least doubt of Ravaillac's having been in Italy, although he constantly denied it. The pieces relating to the processes of La Corman, and captain de La-Garde, seem to him to prove very clearly, that the plot of the parricide was laid at Naples in the year 1608; and that, at one and the same time, they laboured to secure the success of it in Italy, Spain, Flanders, and France. To this he adds, that the duke of Epernon, and the marchioness of Verneuil, met several times at St. Jean en Greve; that they had been heard to say something relating to their scheme, and that Henry IV. himself was informed of it: but that this prince, either through a blind security or an excess of goodness, neglected this information. 1610.

Those who have observed that the duke of Sully, in some passages of his Memoirs, confessed that he does not declare all he knows on this subject, may in these words find some grounds for suspicions: but indeed in all these there is nothing sufficiently clear nor positive, to make it allowable, upon such hints, to accuse this or that person; and, at present, the best thing that can be done, is to draw a veil over this mystery of iniquity, and, if possible, to consign for ever to oblivion this shocking period of our history. We ought to take this part, although it were true what some persons are fully persuaded of, that there are two or three cabinets in Paris which are able to throw some new lights upon this fact. Those who are possessed of such papers, are greatly to be praised for concealing them with so much care; and it would be well if they could resolve to consign them to the flames.

Throughout this whole detail, I have not quoted Vittorio Siri; not that he makes no mention of the assassination of Henry IV. and the trial of Ravaillac, Mem. Recond. Vol. II. p. 246, but he does it in so negligent a manner, and like a man so ill informed, and even so prejudiced against the person of Henry IV. and his maxims of government, that his testimony deserves to have no weight. I shall only observe here, that it is his opinion absolutely, that Ravaillac had no accomplices.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF

SULLY.

BOOK XXVIII.

1610. THE reader muſt not expect to ſee in theſe Memoirs a particular relation of that execrable crime: my grief is renewed by the ſad remembrance, nor ſhall I ceaſe to lament it but when I ceaſe to live. It is with aſtoniſhment that I behold perſons capable of hearing and ſpeaking with coldneſs and inſenſibility of the greateſt misfortune which ever befel this kingdom; in me the thought of it is attended with ſuch horror, that I turn my eyes as much as poſſible from that deplorable object, and my tongue refuſes to pronounce the name of the abominable monſter *, who was the cauſe of all our

* Francis Ravaillac was born at Angoulême, where he followed the profeſſion of a ſchoolmaſter, and was at that time between thirty-one and thirty-two years old. Matthieu thinks he was mad; but I can find nothing in his diſcourſe, either during his impriſonment, or at the time of his execution, that affords any reaſon to charge him with madneſs, taking that word in its moſt uſual ſenſe, but only with fool-hardineſs, fury, and a diſtempered mind. He was brought, on Thurſday the 27th of May, before the church of Nôtre Dame, where he performed the *amende honorable*; from thence he was carried to the Gréve, and there his breaſt, arms, thighs, &c. were torn with red-hot pincers, &c. he holding the knife in his right hand; after that, melted lead, and boiling oil and pitch, were poured on his wounds; and at laſt he was torn to pieces by four horſes; his members were burned, and his aſhes thrown into the air. The furious crowd were every moment ready to puſh upon him and tear

miſ-

miſeries; while inwardly I implore the divine vengeance againſt him, and againſt thoſe that armed his impious hand; the public outcry directs us to the authors of this deteſtable plot; nor can I hinder myſelf from exclaiming, with all the world, againſt a circumſtance, of which no one is ignorant. After the parricide had perpetrated his horrid deſign, he was guarded with ſo little care in the houſe * to which he was firſt carried, that during four hours all ſorts of perſons were permitted to ſee him and talk to him; and certain perſons, whom it is not neceſſary to name here, made ſuch an imprudent uſe of this liberty, that they were heard to call him Friend, and bid him, I repeat their own words, "take care that he did not accuſe good men who were "innocent and good catholics," becauſe that would be an unpardonable crime, and worthy of eternal damnation. Some perſons, truly ſcandalized at what they ſaw, loudly exclaimed againſt ſuch negligence; which obliged them afterwards to guard the murderer with more care. 1610.

However that may be, ſuch was the tragical end of a prince, on whom nature, with a laviſh profuſion, had beſtowed all her advantages, except that of a death ſuch as he merited. I have already obſerved, that his ſtature was ſo happy, and his limbs formed with ſuch proportion, as conſtitutes not only what is called a well-made man, but indicates ſtrength, vigour, and activity †; his complexion was animated; all the lineaments of his face had that agreeable livelineſs ‡

him to pieces, and refuſed to ſing the *ſalve*. He was ſomewhat tall and bulky, and of ſo robuſt a make, that the horſes could not tear him to pieces, but the executioner was obliged to cut him into quarters, which the populace dragged about the city, &c. See the hiſtorians quoted above. Paſquier ſays he was related, on the mother's ſide, to Poltrot, who aſſaſſinated the duke of Guiſe; ibid. p. 32. I do not find there is any appearance of truth in what Guy-Patin relates, letter 122, that Ravaillac had a brother who died in Holland, and who, on his death-bed, declared, that if his brother had miſcarried in his attempt, he himſelf would have undertaken the ſame thing, to revenge, as he ſaid, the injury Henry IV. had done them in debauching their ſiſter, and neglecting her afterwards.

* In the hotel of Retz. L'Etoile ſays he was carried the next day from the hotel of Epernon to the Conciergerie.

† "Henry IV. ſays Le-Grain, was of "a middling ſtature, rather tall than low; "that his forehead was broad, his noſe "aquiline and royal, his mouth well made, "and his lips red, &c." Decade de Henry le Grand, book i. Morizot being worſe informed, ſays, on the contrary, that he was low, and of ſquare make: and aſſerts, that he dreſſed himſelf nearly in the ſame manner in winter as in ſummer, chap. 49.

‡ D'Aubigné informs us, that he had an extreme piercing ſight, and (to make uſe of his own words) a monſtrous quick hearing; of which he gives this convincing proof: "The king, ſays he, being in bed "at La-Garnache, in a large ſtate cham-"ber, and his bed, beſides the curtains, "being ſurrounded with a thick frize; "Frontenac and I laid in the oppoſite cor-"ner of the room, in a bed furniſhed in "the ſame manner; and joking about the "king, I having my lips cloſe to his ear,

1610. which forms a ſweet and happy phyſiognomy, and perfectly ſuited to that engaging eaſineſs of manners, which, though ſometimes mixed with majeſty, never loſt the graceful affability and eaſy gaiety * ſo natural to that great prince. With regard to the qualities of his heart and mind, I ſhall tell the reader nothing new, by ſaying that he was candid, ſincere, grateful, compaſſionate, generous †, wiſe, penetrating;

" and lowering my voice as much as poſ-
" ſible, he often asked, What doſt thou
" ſay? The king anſwered, Deaf as you
" are, can't you hear he ſays, I want to
" make two friends by doing one good
" office? We got off by deſiring him to
" go to ſleep, for we had ſtill a great deal
" more to ſay of him." Vol. III. ch. xxi.
The anſwer which the duke of Bellegarde made to this prince, is of much the ſame kind with this; when both of them lying in the ſame room, ſhortly after the death of Henry III. Henry IV. waked Bellegarde three or four times in the night, to perſuade him to give up ſome of the poſts he enjoyed, in favour of ſome perſons the king named to him: " I will with all my heart,
" ſire," ſays the maſter of the horſe at laſt; " but, for God's ſake, don't wake
" any more." This taſte for raillery and joking, as is always the caſe on ſuch occaſions, from the prince's example, paſſed to his courtiers: and Siri, with ſome appearance of reaſon, blames Henry IV. on this account, condemning it as a fault in a king; raillery never failing to create quarrels amongſt the great, and always diminiſhing the reverence due to the prince: he produces many examples of this. Mem. recond. vol. I. p. 560.

* The hiſtory of Henry IV. furniſhes innumerable inſtances of his turn for pleaſantry, and of his affable and popular manner of addreſs; which perhaps contributed more than his great qualities to procure him the love of his people. " The king,"
ſay the Mem. for the hiſt. of France, vol. II. p. 277, " going one day to the Louvre,
" and meeting a poor woman driving a
" cow, he ſtopt her, and aſked the price
" of the cow: the woman having told
" him the price, *Ventre-ſaint-gris!* ſays
" the king, ſhe is not worth that; I will
" give you ſo much. I ſee replied the
" woman, you are not a dealer in cows.
" What makes you think ſo? ſays the
" king, who had many noblemen with
" him, Don't you ſee all theſe calves are
" following me?" His gardener at Fontainebleau once complaining to him, that he could not make any thing grow in that ſoil: " Friend," ſays Henry looking at the duke of Epernon, " ſow it with Gaſ-
" coons, they will thrive any where." A man who was an extraordinary great eater being ſhewn him, he ſaid, " *Ventre-ſaint-*
" *gris!* if I had ſix men like thee in my
" kingdom I ſhould hang them all; ſuch
" raſcals would ſoon create a famine." It is alſo related of him, that having one day boaſted to the Spaniſh ambaſſador, that he would go to breakfaſt at Milan, hear maſs at Rome, and dine at Naples; that ambaſſador anſwered, " Sire, if your majeſty
" goes ſo faſt, perhaps you may go to veſ-
" pers in Sicily." He was never diſpleaſed at any repartees that were made to him of this kind. Matthieu ſays, not one of his court was able to tell a ſtory ſo agreeably as he.

† " As to his enemies, he always ſpoke
" of them with reſpect, even when he was
" very young, how much ſoever he was
" offended with them: he never named
" any one of his enemies without giving
" him the title of Monſieur." Le-Grain's Decade, book viii. " All the foreſts in
" my kingdom would not be ſufficient,
" ſaid he, to furniſh timber for gallows,
" if all thoſe who have wrote or preached
" againſt me were to be hanged." When he had been prevailed on to read ſome libels on the late queen, his mother, he ſhrugged up his ſhoulders, ſaying, " O, the
" wretch! but he returned to France
" under protection of my paſſport; and I

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in a word, endowed with all thoſe great and amiable qualities which in theſe Memoirs he has ſo often had occaſion of admiring in him. 1610.

HE loved all his ſubjects as a father, and the whole ſtate as the head of a family: and this diſpoſition it was, that recalled him even from the midſt of his pleaſures, to the care of rendering his people happy, and his kingdom flouriſhing: hence proceeded his readineſs in conceiving, and his induſtry in perfecting, a great number of uſeful regulations; many I have already ſpecified: and I ſhall ſum up all, by ſaying, that there were no conditions, employments, or profeſſions, to which his reflections did not extend; and that with ſuch clearneſs and penetration, that the changes he projected could not be overthrown by the death of their author, as it but too often happened in this monarchy. It was his deſire, he ſaid, that glory might influence his laſt years, and make them, at once, uſeful to the world, and acceptable to God: his was a mind, in which the ideas of what is great, uncommon, and beautiful, ſeemed to riſe of themſelves: hence it was, that he looked upon adverſity as a mere tranſitory evil, and proſperity as his natural ſtate. He had drained fens, in order to a greater work than any he had yet undertaken, which was to make, by canals, a communication from ſea to ſea, and from river to river: he wanted only time to complete this noble project.

" will not have any harm done to him." Merc. Franc. ann. 1610, pag. 428. He ſhewed not the ſame indulgence where offence was given to other perſons, as in his own caſe. " On twelfth-day, as the " king was going to receive the commu- " nion, M. de Roquelaure, judging this " the fitteſt opportunity to apply for the " pardon he was deſirous to obtain for " Saint-Chamand (Francis d'Hautefort) " his couſin, who had cauſed the lieute- " nant-general de Tulles (Peter de Fenis, " ſieur du Teil) to be whipped, without " any reaſon, and for which his majeſty " had ordered him to be exemplarily pu- " niſhed, came to the king, and beſought " him to pardon Saint-Chamand, for the " love of that God he was going to re- " ceive, and who would only forgive thoſe " who had forgave thoſe that had offended " them: whom the king anſwered, fix- " ing his eyes on him, " Be gone, and let " me alone; I am ſurpriſed you dare " make this requeſt ro me, when I am " going to declare to God, my reſolution " to do juſtice, and to ask his pardon for " not having done it." Mem. pour l'hiſt. de France, vol. II. p. 262. He replied to M. le Grand, who importuned him in favour of the ſon of the count de La-Martiniere, who was condemned to ſuffer death for having killed his ſiſter; " That after " he was executed he would grant him " his aſhes:" to another nobleman he ſaid, " If he had been the father of that wretch " he would not have interceded for him. " He made a merry, though a chriſtian, " reply to another: *Ventre-ſaint-gris!* " ſaid he to him, ſcratching his head, I " have ſins enough on my head already, " without adding this to them." L'Etoile, part ii. p. 115. Somebody wanting to perſuade him to puniſh the author of the Iſle des Hermaphrodites, " It would offend " my conſcience, ſays he, to give any man " trouble for only ſpeaking the truth."

1610. He often ſaid, that there were ten things which he intreated God to grant to him, from whence aroſe that ſaying, "The ten wiſhes of "Henry IV." He had not the good fortune to obtain them all: they were as follow. 1. Grace and ſpiritual bleſſings. 2. To preſerve till death the uſe of all the faculties of his mind and body. 3. To ſee the religion he had formerly profeſſed, in a fixed and peaceful ſituation. 4. To be delivered from his wife (it is the firſt he here means) and to find one whoſe temper ſuited with his own, that would bring him princes whom he might live to form and educate himſelf. 5. To reſtore France to its ancient ſplendor. 6. To gain from Spain, by conqueſt, either Navarre, or Flanders and Artois. 7. To gain a battle in perſon againſt the king of Spain, and another againſt the Grand Seignior; a piece of good fortune for which he greatly envied Don John of Auſtria. 8. To bring back to its duty, without being obliged to have recourſe to violent meaſures, the huguenot faction, headed by the dukes of Bouillon, La-Tremouille, &c. And on this ſubject he added a 9th, To ſee thoſe two men, and the duke of Epernon, reduced to implore his clemency. It was a long time before he would declare the 10th, which regarded the accompliſhment of his great deſigns: and as in thoſe deſigns he had two principal objects in view, it was neceſſary to divide this wiſh into two; and firſt, with regard to religion, he was deſirous of reducing that prodigious number of religions with which all Europe was filled and divided, to three principal ones at leaſt, ſince it was not poſſible to reunite them all under one ſole faith: the other was wholly political, and related to the number, the territory, and equality, of the European powers, of whom he deſigned to compoſe that kind of great republic upon the plan I ſhall give the reader preſently.

I should deſtroy all I have now ſaid of this great prince, if, after having praiſed him for an infinite number of qualities well worthy to be praiſed, I did not acknowledge that they were ballanced by faults, and thoſe indeed very great. I have not concealed, or even palliated his paſſion for women; his exceſs in gaming; his gentleneſs often carried him to weakneſs; nor his propenſity to every kind of pleaſure: I have neither diſguiſed the faults they made him commit, the fooliſh expences they led him into, nor the time they made him waſte: but I have likewiſe obſerved, to do juſtice on both ſides, that his enemies have greatly exaggerated all theſe errors. If he was, as they ſay, a ſlave to women, yet they never regulated his choice of miniſters, decided the deſtinies of his ſervants, or influenced the deliberations of his council.

council. As much may be ſaid in extenuation of all his other faults. And to ſum up all, in a word, what he has done is ſufficient to ſhew, that the good and bad in his character had no proportion to each other; and that ſince honour and fame have always had power enough to tear him from pleaſure, we ought to acknowledge them to be his great and real paſſions. 1610.

I have a letter by me, which he made Loménie write for him, becauſe he had, as he ſaid, a ſlight hurt in his thumb; it is dated from Chantilly, April 8, but without date of the year. I believe the reader will not be diſpleaſed to hear him ſpeak himſelf upon this ſubject. At the beginning of the letter he tells me, that his reaſon for entering upon it with me, was the public diſcourſe concerning him; for he uſed to divert himſelf with hearing all that was ſaid of him, from Roquelaure, Frontenac, La-Riviere, Du-Laurens, d'Aurambure, Morlas, Salette, La-Varenne, Bonniers, Du-Jon, Béringhen, L'Oſerai, Armagnac, Jacquinot, Perroton, and ſome others with whom he converſed familiarly, and who often acquitted themſelves very faithfully of the order he gave them, to conceal from him nothing that was ſaid to his diſadvantage.

He began with telling me, that his enemies accuſed him with having neglected and deſpiſed, thoſe are his words, the greateſt and moſt deſerving men in the kingdom; and conſuming, in vain and uſeleſs expences, that money which they alledged would be better employed in gratuities to them *. "Some, purſued he, blame me for being too "fond of buildings and great works; others, for liking hunting, dogs, "and birds; one ſays, that I have a paſſion for cards, dice, and other "kinds of gaming; another condemns me for my attachment to wo-"men, to the pleaſures of the table, to aſſemblies, plays, balls, running "at the ring, and other amuſements of that kind †; where, ſay they,

* "They ſay I am niggardly, ſays he, "but I do three things very inconſiſtent "with a covetous diſpoſition; for I make "war, I make love, and I build." Le-Grain, book viii. "Some looked on him "as a covetous man, but they could be "only thoſe who did not know the great "neceſſities he had to ſtruggle with; "which were even ſo great, that during "the ſiege of Dieppe, he could truly ſay, "He was a king without a kingdom, a "huſband without a wife, and that he "made war without money." Merc. Franç. ann. 1610. p. 485.

† "At feaſts he was lively; at tourna-"ments as expert as any one; he was "gay over a bottle, tho' naturally grave; "his ſprightlineſs, and the ſmartneſs of "his repartees, furniſhed the moſt plea-"ſing part of the feaſt: he diſcovered as "much addreſs and courage at tilts, run-"ning at the ring, and in all other gentle-

"I appear

1610. "I appear as gay and lively, with my grey beard, and am as proud of "having gained the goal, and received a ring from ſome fair lady, as "I could have been in my youth, or as the vaineſt young fellow of "the court. I do not deny (adds he) but there is ſome truth in all "this; but if I am guilty of no exceſſes in theſe pleaſures, my conduct "deſerves more praiſe than blame; and indeed ſome little indulgences "I ought to have, in amuſements which bring no inconvenience upon "my people, in conſideration of the labours I have endured from my "infancy to fifty years old. I have heard you ſay, when any one cen- "ſured your actions, that we are not commanded by ſcripture to have "abſolutely no ſins and errors, becauſe there are ſome infirmities in- "ſeparable from humanity; but only not to ſuffer them to enſlave us "and controul our wills; and this has been my endeavour, ſince I "could not do better *. You know that on many occaſions wherein "my miſtreſſes have been concerned (and my paſſion for women is, "of all others, ſaid to have the moſt empire over me) I have ſupported "you againſt them, and have gone ſo far as to tell them, that I would "rather loſe ten ſuch miſtreſſes as they, than one ſuch ſervant as you: "and this, I aſſure you, you ſhall hear me ſay again, if neceſſary; for "when an opportunity offers for executing thoſe glorious deſigns which "you know I have long formed, you ſhall find that I can quit my "miſtreſſes, dogs, horſes, gaming, buildings, and entertainments, "to acquire honour and fame; for I hold it to be my principal duty, "next to thoſe I have to God, my wife, my children, my faithful "ſervants, and my people, whom I love as my children *, to make "myſelf be eſteemed as a prince who is religiouſly faithful to his "word." &c.

But it is now time to reſume the diſagreeable recital of what happened after the death of this good prince; however painful that reci-

"man-like exerciſes, as any one of the "young nobility: he even took delight in "balls, and ſometimes danced, though, "to ſpeak the truth, with more ſpirit than "gracefulneſs." Péréfixe, p. 380.

* "I every day, ſaid this prince, pray "to God for three things; firſt, that he "would be pleaſed to pardon my ene- "mies; ſecondly, to grant me the victory "over my paſſions, and eſpecially ſenſu- "ality; thirdly, that I may make a right "uſe of the authority he has given me, "and never abuſe it. I would willingly "do, as they ſay," added he, ſpeaking of the remonſtrances ſometimes made to him by the biſhops and other eccleſiaſtics, "but "they do not think I know what they do." Matthieu, vol. II. p. 838.

† "I have only two eyes and two feet, "ſaid this good prince; in what reſpect then "do I differ from my ſubjects, but that I "am inveſted with the power of executing "juſtice?"

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tal may appear to me, theſe Memoirs ought not to conclude till that period, when I ceaſed to have a ſhare in the affairs of the government. 1610.

Amidst the firſt tranſports of my grief at the news of my dear maſter's death, I fancied, that though mortally wounded, ſome little remains of life might ſtill be left him; and my mind equally welcoming this faint ray of hope and conſolation, "Give me my cloaths and boots, "ſaid I to thoſe that were about me, and ſaddle ſome of my beſt horſes, "for I will not uſe a coach, and let all my gentlemen hold themſelves "in readineſs to accompany me." I had then only a few of my ſervants with me; for all the others, believing that I was too much indiſpoſed to go out, or even to be dreſſed, had diſperſed ſeveral ways; but the report of the king's being wounded, which was ſoon ſpread over all quarters of the city, had brought them altogether again before I had mounted my horſe, and with them ſo many other perſons, who were particularly attached to me, that I had ſcarcely reached the houſe of Beaumarchais, when I had above an hundred horſe in my train; which in a few moments more, was increaſed to a hundred and fifty; for as I advanced, I met ſeveral of the king's faithful ſervants, who were coming to my houſe, to aſk my advice concerning what meaſures they ſhould take in this moſt miſerable conjuncture. The univerſal grief * and conſternation which I now beheld, was a proof how tenderly this good prince was beloved in his capital. Nothing could

* The deſcription Perefixe gives of it, p. 415, is quite affecting: "When the "report of this tragical accident had been "ſpread all over Paris, and it was certainly known that the king, who at firſt "was thought to be only wounded, was "actually dead, that mixture of hope and "fear, which till then had kept this great "city in ſuſpence, at once burſt forth in "loud cries and violent groans; ſome "became motionleſs and inſenſible, thro' "grief; others ran about the ſtreets, quite "frantic; many embraced their friends "without ſaying any thing to them, but, "*Alas! what a misfortune!* ſome ſhut "themſelves up in their houſes; others "threw themſelves on the ground: one "might ſee women, with their hair diſchevelled, crying and lamenting; fathers ſaid to their children, What will "become of you? you have loſt your father. Thoſe who had greater apprehenſions for the future, and who remembred the horrible calamities of the late "civil wars, deplored the misfortunes of "France, and ſaid, that the fatal ſtroke "which had pierced the heart of the king, "at the ſame time gave a deadly wound "to every Frenchman. It was ſaid, "many were ſo ſtrongly affected by "this event, that they died on the ſpot, "others in a few days afterwards. In "ſhort, it was not the appearance of "a mourning for one ſingle man, but as "if the half of all mankind were dead. "One would have thought every one had "loſt all his family, poſſeſſions, and "hopes, by the death of this great king. "All kings and princes, adds the hiſtorian Matthieu, lamented his death.— "The king of Spain, compelled by truth "and grief, declared, that the greateſt

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1610. be more affecting than the different ways by which the citizens and populace of this great city expreſſed their affection and their ſorrow: groans, tears, loud cries of grief, a mournful ſilence, arms raiſed towards heaven, claſped hands; ſome ſtriking their boſoms, others ſhaking their heads with a melancholy air. This was the ſpectacle which was every where preſented to my view; ſome of them, looking dejectedly upon me, ſaid, "Ah! monſieur, we are all undone, our good king is dead."

As I paſſed through the ſtreet de la Pourpointerie, a man whom I had not perceived before paſſed cloſe by me, and put a billet into my hands, which I gave to ſome of thoſe who were neareſt me to read; it contained only theſe few words, "Monſieur, where are you going? "it is done; I have ſeen him dead; if you enter the Louvre you will "not eſcape any more than him." This billet gave me a dreadful certainty of what I was ſeeking to know. I could not hinder myſelf from burſting into tears: the ſad truth was confirmed to me a thouſand different ways. Du-Jon, whom I met near St. Innocent, ſaid to me, "Monſieur, our evil is without remedy. God has diſpoſed of him; I "know it; I have ſeen him ſpeechleſs: take care of yourſelf, for this "ſtrange blow muſt have fatal conſequences." On entering the ſtreet Saint-Honoré, another billet, like the former, was thrown to me; yet I ſtill continued my courſe to the Louvre. My train was now increaſed to three hundred horſe, when I met Vitry at the end of the ſtreet: he came and embraced me, breaking out into lamentable cries, which it was not in his power to reſtrain; never did I behold a man in ſuch affliction: "Ah! monſieur, cried he, they have murdered our good maſter; he "is dead, France is ruined; as for me, I am perſuaded I have but a "ſhort time to live; I am going out of France, never more to return "to it; we muſt now bid farewel to that order and regularity you had "eſtabliſhed. But, monſieur, ſaid he afterwards, where are you go-"ing with this train? they will not ſuffer you to approach the Louvre, "nor to enter there with more than two or three attendants, which I "would not adviſe you to do *; for I am greatly deceived if this plot

"commander on earth was dead.—The "Venetians ſaid, Our king is dead." Ibid. p. 834.

* By all the duke of Sully's expreſſions here, one may perceive he thought it incumbent upon him to juſtify himſelf againſt a fault he is accuſed of having committed on this occaſion.—Marechal Baſſompierre ſpeaks of it as follows: "As we came "out, going towards Saint-Anthony's "ſtreet, we met the duke of Sully, with "about forty horſe, who, as he approach-"ed, ſaid to us, with a melancholy accent, "Gentlemen, if your vows of ſervice to "the king, whom we have juſt now moſt "unhappily loſt, have made that impreſ-"ſion on your minds, which they ought "on that of every good Frenchman, "ſwear on the ſpot, that you will ſerve "the king his ſon and ſucceſſor, with the

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" ends here. I have ſeen ſome perſons, who have ſo little ſenſibility 1610.
" of the loſs they have ſuſtained, that they cannot even diſſemble the
" grief they ought to feel for it: this I have obſerved, and am ready
" to burſt with rage at it; and if you was to ſee them, you would
" think as I do. I am of opinion that you ought to go back, there is
" buſineſs enough for you to do, without going to the Louvre."

" ſame fidelity as you did him; and that
" you will venture your perſons and lives
" in revenging his death." I anſwered
" him, " Sir, we are obliging others to
" take this oath, and have no need to be
" adviſed to perform what we think our-
" ſelves ſo ſtrongly bound to do." I do
" not know whether my anſwer ſurpriſed
" him, or whether he repented of having
" come ſo far from his fortreſs; but he
" immediately turning about, left us, and
" went and ſhut himſelf up in the Baſtile,
" ſending, at the ſame time, to ſeize all
" the bread in the markets and bakers
" ſhops. He alſo ſent in great haſte to
" M. de Rohan, his ſon-in-law, to make
" him come back, with ſix thouſand Swiſs,
" who were in Champaigne, and of whom
" he was colonel-general, to march di-
" rectly to Paris; which was afterwards
" made uſe of as a pretext to exclude him
" from the management of affairs: be-
" ſides this, meſſieurs de Praſlin and de
" Créquy, who came to ſummon him for
" that purpoſe, could never perſuade him
" to wait on the king, as all the other
" great men did; nor did he go till the
" next day, when the duke of Guiſe, with
" difficulty, prevailed on him to go: af-
" ter which, he countermanded his ſon-
" in-law, with his Swiſs, who had already
" advanced a day's march towards Paris."
Vol. I. p. 300. L'Etoile only ſays, " M.
" de Sully, more dead than alive, came
" to wait on the queen, who received him
" kindly, continued him in all his poſts,
" and ſent him to the arſenal to exerciſe
" the duties of his office." Mem. hiſt. de
France, p. 309. But his commentator
appears to be of the ſame opinion with
Baſſompierre, from whom he quotes in the
margin the paſſage we have recited here.
The author of L'Hiſtoire de la mere et du
fils, inveighs violently on this account a-
gainſt M. de Sully, though without mak-
ing mention of his ſeizing the bread, or re-
calling the Swiſs. He only accuſes this mi-
niſter of giving way, with too much weak-
neſs, to the fear he had conceived of his
enemies about the queen. " Some of his
" friends, ſays he, did every thing in their
" power to engage him to the perform-
" ance of his duty, and to get the better
" of his apprehenſions and fears: but as
" perſons of the greateſt courage, on ſome
" occaſions become fearful and timorous,
" it was for ſome time impoſſible to in-
" ſpire him with reſolution enough for
" this purpoſe. It was a long time before
" he could recover his courage. Towards
" the evening, Saint-Geran, whom he
" had obliged, and who profeſſed a great
" friendſhip for him, coming to him, at
" laſt prevailed on him to quit the ar-
" ſenal and go to the Louvre. When he
" came to the Croix-du-Trahoir, his ap-
" prehenſions ſeized him again, and ſo
" powerfully, by reaſon of ſome intelli-
" gence he received at that place, that
" he went back, with fifty or ſixty horſe,
" who accompanied him to the Baſtile,
" of which he was captain; having de-
" ſired M. de Saint-Geran to go and make
" his excuſes to the queen, and aſſure her
" of his fidelity and readineſs to ſerve
" her." Vol. I. p. 49.

Viewing this account in the moſt unfa-
vourable light, diſadvantageous as it is to
the duke of Sully, it can only give room
to blame him for having carried his pre-
caution, againſt any attempt on his perſon
(which was looked on as chimerical) too
far; but the hiſtorian Matthieu, the beſt
informed of all thoſe writers, acquaints us,
that the fear this miniſter had conceived
was not ſo groundleſs as his enemies have

1610.

This agreement of diſcourſes, billets, and advices, ſtruck me at length: I ſtopped ſhort, and after conſulting with Vitry, and ten or twelve of the principal perſons who followed me, I thought it was the moſt prudent way to return home; and accordingly I contented myſelf with ſending to offer my duty and ſervices to the queen; and to aſſure her, at the ſame time, that till ſhe acquainted me with her orders, I would, with ſtill greater aſſiduity than before, attend to the care of the Baſtile, the arſenal, the forces, and ordnance, and all the affairs of my government, and other employments.

I had but juſt entered the ſtreet Saint-Antoine, and the gentlemen whom I ſent with this meſſage could not have had time to deliver it, when I ſaw a meſſenger from the queen, who entreated me, from her, to come inſtantly to the Louvre, and to bring as few perſons as poſſible with me, having things of great conſequence to impart to me. This propoſal of going alone to the Louvre, to deliver myſelf into the hands of my enemies, with whom I knew it was full, was not very proper to remove my ſuſpicions. Beſides, I was that moment informed, that an exempt of the guards, and ſome archers, had been ſeen at the firſt gates of the arſenal; that others had been ſent to the temple, where

repreſented. He ſpeaks of this matter in the following manner: "They had raiſed "jealouſies in the queen of the duke of "Sully, and ſhe had been adviſed to ſecure "his perſon, becauſe he had the Baſtile, "the arſenal, and the king's money, in "his poſſeſſion. He had been bathing that "day, and being advertiſed of this un-"happy accident, he got on horſeback to "go to the Louvre; but coming to the "Croix-du-Traboir, followed by about "forty gentlemen, he received ſome ad-"vices which made him return. The "queen ſent the duke of Guiſe to fetch "him to her, who found him in the great "walk in his garden, on the ſide next to "the Baſtile, and acquainted him with "the queen's orders. He deſired to be ex-"cuſed, becauſe he had notice given him "that ſome deſigns were formed againſt "him.—The determination he came to, "on conſulting with the duke of Guiſe, "the count of Bethune, and ſome other "friends, was to ſtay at home the reſt of "that day, and to ſee the queen on the day "following, when the duke of Guiſe pro-"miſed to come and fetch him, and aſſured "him, that he and all his friends would "loſe their lives, before they would ſuffer "any harm to be done him.—He went "back to the queen, and got her appro-"bation of the conſiderations that detained "the duke of Sully, upon the promiſe he "had made of coming to wait on her the "next day. Immediately afterwards the "duke of Sully, with a good number of "gentlemen, went into the Baſtile, where "he had cauſed all the bread to be brought "that was found in the bakers ſhops in "Paris." &c. Hiſt. of Lewis XIII. p. 2. and 3. If we add to this, what the duke of Sully ſays of the notice he had received from every quarter, that this blow would be followed by terrible conſequences which were not expected, we ſhall perhaps be convinced, that it was only prudent in this miniſter to act thus, for the ſake of the public tranquility and his own ſafety.

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the powder was lodged; and ſome to the treaſurer of the Exchequer, to ſtop all the money there. I drew ſo unfavourable an augury from all this being done without conſulting me, that I did not heſitate a moment about the anſwer I ſhould ſend to the queen. I ſent a gentleman to tell her, that I was very certain, when ſhe had heard what the perſon whom I had the honour to depute to her had to ſay, ſhe would enter into my reaſons, and alter her opinion; and that I would expect her anſwer at the arſenal and the Baſtile, from whence I ſhould not remove. 1610.

The queen did not ſtop there; ſhe ſent to me immediately meſſieurs de Montbazon, de Praſlin, de Schomberg, La-Varenne, and after them my brother. I knew not what to think of this importunity; but when I ſaw them all arrive within a quarter of an hour of each other, my ſuſpicions were encreaſed, and I reſolved not to go to the Louvre that day: the condition I was in was alone a ſufficient excuſe. The effort I had made after my bathing in the morning, and after a very ſlight repaſt; the ſtate of my mind, far more painful than that of my body; both together had thrown me into ſo violent a ſweat, that my cloaths were quite wet; and into ſo great a weakneſs, that I could no longer ſupport myſelf; therefore, as ſoon as I got to my apartment in the Baſtile, whither I firſt went, I was obliged to change my ſhirt, and to go into bed, where I was reſolved to continue till the next day. The conſtable and the duke of Epernon came to viſit me, and offered me their ſervices; and the manner in which they adviſed me to wait upon the queen making me judge I might do it without running any danger, I at length yielded, upon the condition they ſtill inſiſted on, that I ſhould be attended only by a ſmall number of perſons: and I reſolved to go to the Louvre the next day.

Three hundred perſons on horſeback waited for my coming out, that they might accompany me as the day before; theſe were all either relations, friends, or perſons ſeemingly attached to me from the appearance of the new favour I was likely to be in, or perhaps from the ſhame of quitting me too precipitately. I thanked them all, and told them my reaſons for not admitting of an eſcort that might appear in any degree remarkable, and for confining myſelf to that ſmall number which uſually compoſed my train. And accordingly it was with my own domeſtics only, to the number of twenty, or thereabouts, that I arrived at the Louvre. On my entrance, I perceived the marks of a ſincere grief in thoſe who had by any employment

1610. been attached to the deceaſed king: of theſe, the officers and ſubalterns ſeemed to feel, with the moſt tender ſenſibility, the public loſs. As I paſſed through the ſeveral gates I could ſee them advance to meet and embrace me with tears in their eyes, or groan as they ſaw me paſs, and earneſtly conjure me not to abandon the children, after having ſo well ſerved the father.

It is with regret I am obliged to confeſs, that the inner part of the palace, and what is called the court, preſented me an object greatly different; there I only ſaw faces either calm and compoſed, and, which, afflicted me ſo much the more, as they endeavoured, but in vain, to appear afflicted; or faces ſo gay, as added indignation to my grief. When I came into the queen's preſence, all the little conſtancy with which I had armed myſelf ſo totally left me, that I broke into tears and cries. She no longer found in herſelf that fortitude with which ſhe had prepared to ſee me: and we together made up a ſcene truly affecting. She gave orders that the young king ſhould be brought to me, whoſe tender careſſes gave a new aſſault to my heart, which I could with the utmoſt difficulty ſuſtain. I cannot remember what this young prince then ſaid to me, or what I ſaid to him; all I know is, that they were ſcarce able to tear him from my arms, in which I held him cloſely embraced. "My ſon, ſaid the queen "his mother to him, this is M. de Sully, you muſt love him well, "for he was one of the beſt and moſt faithful ſervants of the king "your father, and I entreat him to continue to ſerve you in the ſame "manner." The queen and I had ſome other diſcourſe together, without being able to ceaſe weeping for a moment: ſhe afterwards ſaid, that it was the ſight of me, and one other perſon in the court with which ſhe had been moſt affected.

A reception attended with ſuch marks of diſtinction and confidence, reduced all the princes, lords, and members of the council who were near the queen, to the neceſſity of outvying each other in proteſtations of friendſhip, ſervice, and attachment: yet certainly they did not deceive me, for I knew their hearts as well as themſelves: I was convinced already, that in the ſcheme they had formed of taking advantage of the preſent conjuncture, to increaſe their riches, and arrogate new dignities to themſelves, though at the expence of the good of the ſtate, the honour of the king, and the public welfare, I might be ſure of being the mark at which all their blows would be aimed: becauſe they themſelves, in the firmneſs of my mind, and the ſeverity

of

of my regulations, had reaſon to expect inſurmountable obſtacles to their deſigns; of this they had already examples ſo ſufficient to convince them, that the only part they had to take was to endeavour to get me removed entirely from the adminiſtration of affairs; therefore when, in the ſequel, they raiſed all ſorts of batteries againſt me in the queen's opinion (taking it for granted that they had not done it before) when the Jeſuits and their adherents made the nuncio ſolicit the arret for my diſmiſſion, when my partners in the council and the finances ſet Conchini and his wife to work, to inſinuate to the two princes of the blood, that they would never have any real authority while I continued to be at the head of affairs; and that if they removed me from the adminiſtration, it muſt neceſſarily fall into their hands; when they made all the others believe, that to depend upon Conchini was to be truly great; in a word, when I ſaw them all labouring with equal ardour for my fall, nothing more happened than what I had foreſeen and foretold. 1610.

The firſt thing the parliament proceeded to, after the king's death was declared, was to appoint the queen-mother regent. It was thought neceſſary that the young king ſhould go thither in perſon, to hold his bed of juſtice, and confirm this nomination *. The morning after the king's aſſaſſination was the day appointed for this ceremony. It was ſcarce light when I received a meſſage from the queen, deſiring I would attend his majeſty to the parliament. I made every excuſe I could think of to avoid it; I even feigned myſelf ſo much indiſpoſed, that it would be impoſſible for me to get out of bed that whole day. I felt indeed an extreme repugnance againſt doing what they required of me; but it was abſolutely neceſſary to give the queen this ſatisfaction, who importuned me inceſſantly. The ſound of the drums and muſical inſtruments giving new force to my grief, and judging that a face bathed with tears would but ill ſuit with the cries of gratulation and joy with which every place reſounded; I preſſed through the croud, and was amongſt the firſt in the hall of the Auguſtins, where the parliament was held.

Two or three cardinals, who, like me, had been deſirous of avoiding the preſs, were, with ſome other perſons, already in the hall, and

* See the form and particulars of this ceremony in the Merc. Franc. and other hiſtorians, anno 1610. In the council which met to adviſe whether the queen ought to go to the parliament, the duke of Sully only ſaid, "That as there was no law to forbid "the queen's going to the parliament, it "was a matter of indifference whether "ſhe went or not." Matthieu, ibid. p. 4.

had

1610. had taken their ſeats at the upper end of the bench deſtined for the eccleſiaſtics, which was on the left ſide of the throne prepared for his majeſty: the biſhops of Langres, Beauvais, and Noyon, coming in afterwards, theſe gentlemen, who had taken it into their heads that their quality of peers gave them a right to precede the princes and cardinals in parliament, would not ſit below the latter, who they found had already placed themſelves, but went to the bench on the right hand, and took their places at the upper end of it: I found them there when I entered, and told them with great civility, that it was not their place, and adviſed them, as their friend, to go to the left ſide, ſince they could not expect that the temporal peers, who would enter immediately, would ſuffer them quietly to keep poſſeſſion of the right ſide. They were going to ſtun me with their uſual diſtinctions of peers of an older creation and ſpiritual peers, which in their opinions raiſed them greatly above the new dukes. The debate was not carried to any length by me; I only told them, that they would ſoon be convinced who was in the right: which accordingly happened. The affair was inſtantly decided, and they were obliged to go over to the left ſide; where, finding the cardinals not diſpoſed to give them the upper hand, they choſe to go out, rather than ſubmit to this regulation, and did not aſſiſt at the ceremony. As for me, though I was preſent, I interpoſed no farther in the diſpute. The queen had reaſon to be ſatisfied with what paſſed *; every thing was granted her, without even collecting the votes.

It was not long before I diſcovered, that although, in appearance, they ſeemed to neglect none of the formalities which are generally obſerved in the ſettling a lawful regency, although they would have the alterations, which they already ſuffered to be perceived in the adminiſtration, paſs for the common and neceſſary effect of a change of government; in a word, although they ſtrove to make it be believed, that their ſole view, by this manner of government was to give more ſtrength and grandeur to the authority of an infant king: yet thoſe by whoſe advice the queen acted, thought of nothing in reality but how, under this maſk, to aggrandize themſelves. All that ſhow of regularity vaniſhed upon a nearer view; while in its place, we beheld real violations of order, which terrified the few, the very few good ſubjects ſtill remaining. I thought myſelf obliged, and in ſome degree entitled, to make them ſenſible that I ſaw theſe abuſes, and that I diſ-

* See the hiſtorians quoted before, for the manner of this ceremony.

approved

approved of them: but the time of free remonſtrances, which the grief for the king's death the firſt day, and the diſtraction of affairs the ſecond, ſuffered ſtill to ſubſiſt, was paſt on the third: nor was it much longer before they entirely ſhook off the yoke of conſtraint, and appeared no more with a compoſure of behaviour, and an affectation of ſorrow, which had done too much violence to their real ſentiments: ſtupidity, or the want of a true ſubject for joy, produced this effect in ſome; in others, their natural levity of temper; and in others, the mere movement of public and private affairs; but, above all, the fear of diſpleaſing thoſe perſons whoſe examples gave laws to the court. 1610.

Let us take a view then of this new world after the three firſt days. Were we to ſtop at appearances, and all that was done to ſtrike the eyes, the Louvre might have been thought to have ſtill mourned; all the refinements of melancholy pomp were to be found there; the hangings with which the ceilings, the walls, and floors were covered; the furniture, and all the apparatus of public mourning, made the apartments of ſtate in this palace look like the diſmal abode of death and ſorrow. But were we to go a little farther, and conſider the countenances and behaviour of thoſe who were appointed to do the honours of this ſad ceremony, the thing might appear a little doubtful; for if there were ſome among them who ſhed real tears, and whoſe groans indeed proceeded from the heart, there were others who gave ſufficient indications of very different emotions. But if we deſcend from thence, and viſit the lower apartments, which were called the ground-floors, there we may form a true notion of the diſpoſition all hearts were in; that magnificence which was baniſhed from every other part of the palace found an aſylum there: gold, purple, embroidery, and the moſt ſumptuous ornaments, made this a ſcene of pleaſure and delight; luxury was there in its utmoſt profuſion. Myſelf, and a ſmall number of true Frenchmen, never entered thoſe apartments, without feeling our hearts torn with grief and rage; to behold, in a place where every object ought to have reminded us of the public loſs, all the appearance of joy, triumph, and exultation. I bluſh to ſay, that notwithſtanding the artifice which was uſed to conceal this ſpectacle of inſenſibility and ingratitude from the eyes of the public, yet it was too often diſcloſed, by the burſts of laughter, the exclamations of joy, and the ſongs of gladneſs, which were heard to proceed from thoſe places: nor indeed were they filled with any but happy perſons, or thoſe that believed themſelves ſo. Here it was that the true court reſided, and

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1610. where the councils were held, as well thoſe general ones which were called for ſhow, and compliance with cuſtom, as the private ones, wherein they knew how to render ineffectual all the prudent reſolutions that had been taken in the former.

The queen admitted none into theſe ſecret councils, which were held at the moſt unſeaſonable hours, but Conchini and his wife, the pope's nuncio, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, the chancellor, and the chevalier de Sillery, the duke of Epernon, Villeroi, Jeannin, and Arnaud, (who, as well as Jeannin, from having been entirely devoted to me, became no leſs attached to Conchini) Duret the phyſician (who, however, ſoon fell from this high degree of favour) Dollé, and father Cotton. It is not difficult to gueſs the ſubjects of their conſultations; the union of the crowns of France and Spain, the renouncing of all the moſt ancient alliances of the crown with foreign princes, the repealing of all edicts of pacification, the deſtruction of the proteſtants, the expulſion of all of them who were in place, the diſgrace of thoſe who would not receive the yoke of the new favourites, the diſſipation of the treaſures amaſſed by the deceaſed king, and applied by them to bribe the covetous and ambitious to their intereſts, and to load with riches and authority thoſe who were going to be raiſed to the firſt dignities of the ſtate; in a word, a thouſand projects as pernicious to the king and the kingdom, as advantageous to our greateſt enemies, made up the grand object of all their views.

To the public council, which was held punctually every day, were ſummoned the prince of Conti and the count of Soiſſons (the prince of Condé was not yet returned to France) the cardinal de Joyeuſe, the conſtable, the dukes of Maine and Guiſe, and the duke of Bouillon, as ſoon as he ſhould arrive, marechal Briſſac, Châteauneuf, Pontcarré, De-Vic *, Caumartin, and myſelf. Some of theſe gentlemen loudly exclaimed againſt altering our ſyſtem of politics: but the ſubjects moſt frequently diſcuſſed by this council, were upon the means of increaſing the royal revenues, of diminiſhing the taille and other impoſts, and of augmenting the penſions of the grandees, and procuring them ſeveral

* Dominic De-Vic, vice-admiral, &c. who has been mentioned before; he died this year at Paris, ſoon after his return from Calais, of which he was governor; it was aſſerted, that his death was occaſioned by the grief he was ſeized with, on ſeeing again the place to which he had ſeen the corpſe of Henry IV. brought after he was aſſaſſinated. Merc. Franc. an. 1610, p. 529.

other

other advantages. The preſident Jeannin, ever loud and obſtinate, made himſelf be heard above all the others. It was ſaid, that this man had been known to promiſe mountains of gold to every one. Some perſons, who ſtill retained the candour and frankneſs of the old council, and who could neither diſguiſe their own ſentiments, nor flatter thoſe of others, joined their endeavours to mine, to ſhew the groſs contradiction there was in pretending to encreaſe the expences, while they were diminiſhing the revenues. 1610.

I was deſirous of avoiding the reproach of my own conſcience, for ſuffering by my ſilence, ſuch maxims to gain ground: I at firſt combated them by arguments, and flattered myſelf, that if the advantage was to remain on the ſide of reaſon, we ſhould have carried our point; but we ſoon found that ignorance was but the leaſt of thoſe vices we had to encounter. It was by the moſt magnificent promiſes (of which however, thoſe that related to the people's relief were never performed) that the new government ſought to make friends, and to obliterate, and even to bring into contempt, that wiſe frugality to which the glory of the laſt reign was owing. Jeannin, indeed, had a particular end to anſwer by theſe meaſures; his ſcheme being to get the entire diſpoſal of the finances, what better methods could be made uſe of to raiſe himſelf to this poſt, than to inſinuate, that in the new ſuperintendant they ſhould all find that facility and readineſs to oblige, which the grandees complained they had not met with in the old one? It may be ſaid, that he had not the abilities requiſite for this employment which he at length obtained; but he knew how to enrich himſelf, his relations, and allies, by it, eſpecially Caſtille *, with whom money muſt certainly be of very little value, ſince all thoſe pieces of furniture which in other houſes are made of iron or wood, in his were of ſilver: in this point of magnificence he was inferior to none but Conchini.

I was abſolutely convinced that I was offering remedies to voluntary ills, when I ſaw that my freedom of ſpeech, which had at firſt been ſuffered as being an habitual fault, began to appear ſo troubleſome, that I eaſily read upon every countenance the pain it gave them to reſtrain themſelves; and that they would ſoon get rid of thoſe ſmall remains of reſpect. From that time I looked upon myſelf as a man who would very ſoon become ſomething worſe than uſeleſs, and ſeri-

* Peter de Caſtille was comptroller-general, and ſuperintendant of the finances.

1610. ouſly took up a reſolution to diſengage myſelf by degrees from a place where I could not ſupport my former reputation without infinite danger, or ſwim with the ſtream without total diſhonour: for, indeed, what influence could the voice of one ſingle man, who had nothing but harſh things to ſay, have over a queen who was uſed to the alluring language and ſervile complaiſance of flatterers and new favourites? It is a thing ſo rare for a miniſter to ſupport himſelf with his ſovereign, by ſuch ſentiments alone as ariſe from a veneration mixed with awe (which however will always be the caſe if that miniſter be an honeſt man) that one ought not to expect ſuch a miracle will happen in two reigns ſucceſſively; therefore when my relations, my friends, and my domeſtics, whoſe affection for me made them ſee things in a very different light, united their endeavours to prevail upon me to continue my cares, which they aſſured me might ſtill be uſeful; or even when they repreſented to me that it was poſſible ſome good might be extracted from the new plan, my uſual anſwer was, that the blow which God had permitted, was ſo plain a declaration that he had delivered up France to her evil deſtiny, that to endeavour to hinder its effect, was to tempt his vengeance. One of my people, that very Arnaud whom I mentioned a little above, had the inſolence to ſay to me one day, when he ſaw me extremely dejected with this thought, that I was much to blame to afflict myſelf thus about what might happen; that for the future there might be very conſiderable ſums laid up in the exchequer, which the great expences of the deceaſed king in buildings, gaming, dogs, birds, and miſtreſſes, rendered it impoſſible to do while he was living. This ſpeech appeared ſo criminal in his mouth, that, in the firſt emotions of my rage, I called him baſe, wicked, and ungrateful; threatned to ſtrike him, and forbad him ever to appear in my preſence again. It was but too true what I reproached him with in that moment, that his baſe compliances, and wicked counſels, were going to open the firſt way to diſſipation and diſorder.

The count of Soiſſons was not at Paris during theſe tranſactions. Some diſguſt which he had taken at the queen's coronation, on account of the robes which the king's natural * children were to appear in there, furniſhed him with a pretence for retiring to one of his

* It was on account of the duchefs of Vendome's robes. The king had a great deſire that ſhe, like the other princeſſes of the blood-royal, ſhould wear them ſprinkled with flower-de-luces, which the count of Soiſſons would never conſent to.

houſes,

houſes, ſo that he was not a witneſs of any thing that paſſed, either as to the king's death, or on the following days; and did not come to Paris till after the queen was declared regent, and all the other diſpoſitions made. This was a new ſubject for his complaints. He was greatly offended that they had proceeded to a buſineſs of ſuch importance as ſettling the regency, without giving him notice of it, and even without ſtaying till he could be preſent; for he affirmed, that this ceremony could not be performed without him: and taking it into his head, that, to make himſelf feared, it was only neceſſary that he ſhould bluſter and talk high, he found fault with many things in the form of this ceremony, boaſting that no perſon would have courage enough to ſay, in his preſence, that only a ſmall number of the preſidents and counſellors concurred in the nomination of the queen in the firſt meeting of the parliament; and added, that on the following day, when the king, the princes, the cardinals, the peers, and other officers of the crown were preſent, being afraid that, if the queſtion was put to the vote, they ſhould meet with oppoſition, they contented themſelves with a mere confirmation of the act of the foregoing day. He ſaw plainly that he would not be liſtened to, unleſs he could make his party very conſiderable; and, for this purpoſe, he conſtrained himſelf ſo far, as to ſeek the friendſhip of ſeveral courtiers, with whom he had not the leaſt connection. But there were two things which obſtructed his ſucceſs; his haughty and inſolent temper, and the preference the courtiers thought their intereſt required they ſhould give to others, who they found were likely to have the diſpoſal of all favours; and being as much diſliked by the princes, and his own brother, the prince of Conti, as by all the reſt, he ſaw himſelf obliged at length to yield. 1610.

I was one of thoſe whom for ſome time the count of Soiſſons was deſirous of calling friend *, but it was not long before he gave me every proof of his being a real enemy; and, upon the following occaſion.

* "M. de Sully was not one of the laſt "to court the good will of this prince, "whom he knew he had offended; there- "fore, to make his peace with him, he "went immediately to wait on him; and, "after many excuſes and mean ſubmiſſi- "ons, which, had his maſter been living, "he would never have made, beſought his "excellence to pardon thoſe faults which "properly were not his, but the late "king's, by whoſe commands he had acted "in every inſtance: with which acknow- "ledgment the count was, or at leaſt ap- "peared to be, content; and, having "embraced him, declared himſelf his "friend, as formerly; and Sully proteſted "he was his ſervant, as he always had "been." Mem. Hiſt. de France, p. 317.

1610. The count had often preſſed the late king upon an affair of which I have already made ſome mention: it was to make an agreement with him for ſome claims, which he alleged he had in Piémont, in right of his wife, who was of the houſe of Montaſſié: his importunity obliged Henry to remit the examination of this matter to me; and the profeſſion I have always made of ſincerity and attachment to the intereſts of my king, forced me to repreſent to him, that this ſtep would be attended with great inconvenience to him; that he was going to engage himſelf in proceſſes without number, and without end, againſt the pope, the apoſtolical chamber, the duke of Savoy, and ſeveral cardinals, all of whom had pretenſions upon theſe eſtates, and many already in poſſeſſion of them; and that he would not be able to extricate himſelf in leſs than ten years out of that maze of different intereſts; and it being neceſſary, for the advancement of his great deſigns, that he ſhould be well with the pope and the duke of Savoy, he muſt carefully avoid entering into any diſcuſſion which might make them his enemies. There needed no more to make Henry lay aſide all thought of it.

Upon the death of this prince, the count of Soiſſons reſumed this affair with the new council. In every thing which might be conſidered as a matter of mere favour, he did not ſcruple to form any intrigue which might procure him what he demanded. I am almoſt aſhamed to repeat the methods he made uſe of to attain his ends. The count, with the aſſiſtance of Conchini, counterfeited the ſignature, and made uſe of the ſeal of the deceaſed king; and thus gave an authentic form to a pretended contract of ſale between king Henry and him, for all the eſtates in queſtion. To make this writing leſs liable to a ſuſpicion of an antedate, they thought it neceſſary that my name ſhould appear there, which obliged them to requeſt my ſignature; and this was the greateſt difficulty they had to get over. They repreſented to me, that the moment was now come, which would abſolutely fix the count, either as my friend or my enemy. They brought a thouſand other motives to prevail upon me: but I ſtill perſiſted, not only to refuſe my ſignature, but alſo to aſſert publicly, that this affair having been begun and ended by Henry and myſelf, no one could know better than I did that his intentions were abſolutely contrary to what they were now endeavouring to perſuade me of; and I told them plainly, that they preſented me a deed falſely ſigned and ſealed; ſo that, deſpairing to vanquiſh my obſtinacy, they drew up another contract like the former in every reſpect, except that my name was omitted.

The

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The count of Soiſſons and I were upon theſe terms when he quarrelled * publicly with his brother, the prince of Conti, and, on his account, with the whole family of Guiſe. The queen ſent for me to acquaint me with the expedients ſhe had thought of to accommodate all their differences, which were to be tried when the council was met; and, till then, ſhe entreated me not to eſpouſe the cauſe of either party, that I might, with greater propriety, act the part of a mediator between both when the time for it came; to which I readily agreed. Accordingly, when we were ſeated in council where the affair was to be treated, and I had already given my opinion favourably for the count, this prince ſent Briſſac to tell the queen, in a whiſper, that he entreated her not to permit any of thoſe perſons, who were held in ſuſpicion by him, to deliberate upon this matter, and that he excepted againſt me † in particular, as being a kinſman and friend to the houſe of Guiſe. "He ought not to except againſt M. de Sully, replied the queen aloud; "for there is no perſon in the council whoſe judgment has been ſo "favourable to him as his." I confeſs I was greatly ſhocked at this treatment, and I could not help ſaying as I roſe up, "Madam, I ex-"cept againſt myſelf, ſince he deſires it; and I am going this moment "to offer my ſervice to his brother, and to M. de Guiſe."

The third quarrel I had with the count of Soiſſons happened, as the former, in the council, on occaſion of the government of Normandy, which he wanted to have conferred upon himſelf. The queen deſired to have my opinion, which I begged ſhe would diſpenſe with me from

* This quarrel aroſe from the coaches of thoſe two princes having been drove againſt one another and their coachmen having fought. The duke of Guiſe going the day after to the prince of Conti, by the queen's order, to endeavour to make up this difference, went by the count of Soiſſons' palace, with about twenty-five or thirty horſe. Nothing more was requiſite to ſet the count at variance with him alſo; and this double quarrel raiſed ſo great an uproar in Paris, that the queen, being afraid of a general inſurrection, gave orders that all the inhabitants ſhould hold themſelves in readineſs to put up the chains, and take arms all over the city, at the firſt order; and ſhe ſent a captain of the guards to keep near each of the two princes. We muſt look in Baſſompierre's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 308, & ſeq. for all the particulars of theſe differences, ſince he himſelf contributed greatly to appeaſe them. See alſo L'Hiſtoire de la Mere & du Fils, Vol. I. p. 123, and Le Merc. Franc. anno 1611, in which is contained what the duke of Sully ſaid to the queen in favour of the duke of Guiſe.

† The author of the life of the duke of Epernon informs us, that the count of Soiſſons carried his hatred to the duke of Sully ſo far as to ſollicit that duke to ſuffer him to get that miniſter aſſaſſinated even in the Louvre; and that he took it much amiſs, the duke of Epernon refuſed him the aſſiſtance of the guards, whom he commanded, to ſtrike this blow. Page 249.

giving

1610. giving; but, not being able to prevail, I told her that it was impoſſible for me to adviſe her to take from the deceaſed king's children the offices and employments they were already poſſeſſed of, to beſtow upon any other perſon whatever. At that time the count of Soiſſons and Conchini were not upon good terms with each other, and this prince had even oppoſed the favourite's getting the poſt of firſt gentleman of the bed-chamber for himſelf, and the archbiſhopric of Tours for his wife's brother *; but they were reconciled upon this occaſion, becauſe they mutually aſſiſted each other; and by theſe means both obtained what they demanded. The ſame method was uſed by all who had any pretenſions to vacant poſts and employments, and in a very little time every thing was carried in the council by intrigue and cabal. "The time of kings is over, ſaid one to another, and that of the "princes and grandees is come; and all they have now to do, is to "ſet a high value upon themſelves."

All the moſt conſiderable perſons of the court were ſummoned to an extraordinary council, which was held to deliberate upon the uſe that ſhould be made of thoſe great armaments ſet on foot by the late king, a little before his death, for the enterpriſe of Cleves. The diverſity of opinions was infinite: ſome were for laying them totally aſide: others, and thoſe not the leaſt numerous, were for performing all the promiſes made by Henry the Great to the German princes concerned in the affair: the greateſt number were for mediums between theſe two opinions ſo oppoſite to each other: ſome adviſed that we ſhould keep only to the eight thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, expreſſed in the general contracts made by king Henry with his allies: others, that we ſhould content ourſelves with maintaining the two regiments of French cavalry already in their ſervice: a third party voted for embarking ſome foot ſoldiers at Calais; theſe that we ſhould ſend them no ſupplies of men, but aſſiſt them with money; thoſe that we ſhould keep our whole army upon the frontier without acting, except in a caſe of abſolute neceſſity: and others, that we ſhould disband the greateſt part

* Stephen Galigaï, brother of Leonora Galigaï. He was then Abbot of Marmoûtier. "He had learned to read four years, "ſays L'Etoile, and yet knew nothing of "the matter; he was called the baboon "of the court, on account of his uglineſs "and mean aſpect. The monks would "not accept of him as their abbot, ſaying "they had been uſed to be under the command of princes, and not of joiners, "like him, who was juſt come from "handling the plane." "But it is certain, ſays Amelot, that the family of "Galigaï is reckoned amongſt the noble "families of Florence." He went back to Italy after the death of the marſhal D'Ancre, and his wife.

of

of our troops, and keep no more than was neceſſary for our own ſecurity. All this was intermixed with overtures of agreement and pacification, to be made between the contending powers, ſuch as juſt then occurred to them. 1610.

It appeared to me that they all expected, with ſome impatience, my opinion, becauſe I had been more engaged in the affair by the late king, than any other to whom he had communicated it. I began by making, what I judged, a very juſt diſtinction between thoſe troops already drawn together into the body of an army, and thoſe which were ſtill levying; between thoſe deſtined for the field, and thoſe which had been ſent into Dauphiné. With regard to the firſt therefore I concluded, that ſince, according to all appearances, and from the preſent ſituation of affairs, moſt part of the deſigns of Henry the Great would not be carried into execution, it was neceſſary to ſuſpend immediately all levies not begun, ſtop thoſe which were making, and pay and diſmiſs all that were made, and already upon their march; becauſe, ſince all this muſt be done ſooner or later, it would ſave the king ſo much money in the expences of ſending backwards and forwards, and the people ſo much trouble and oppreſſion. The death of him whom I had regarded as the great mover of this whole enterprize, ſeemed in my opinion to have made ſo great a change in it, that I believe I ſhould have given the ſame advice, even tho' I had found no ill intentioned perſon amongſt us; but neither could I conform to the opinions of thoſe who were for betraying our allies, with whom we were engaged by the moſt ſolemn promiſes; or deceiving them, by affecting to take ſteps to procure an accommodation between them, or by granting them feeble ſuccour, which would be of ſcarce any uſe to them.

This was the anſwer I made to the greateſt part of thoſe ambiguous opinions, which were for and againſt a thing at the ſame time. I made them ſenſible that it highly concerned the glory of the late king, ſince his greateſt deſigns could not be accompliſhed, which might in ſome meaſure give room for ſuſpicions that he had never really formed them, they ſhould at leaſt have all their effect with regard to what he had declared, promiſed, and already begun: that it was for the intereſt of our own reputation with the foreign powers, that we ſhould not ſuffer them to believe the whole force of France was concentred in one ſingle man, and that we had ſo little reſpect for his memory. I concluded, therefore, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to ſend deputies immediately to the German princes, and to the prince of Orange, to know of

1610. of them whether they really ſtood in need of the aſſiſtance of our forces to help them to reduce thoſe ſtates which we were deſirous of ſecuring to them; for I thought they might do without them, if that was not their ſole motive for taking up arms; and, if they had occaſion for them, to know how many they demanded, and that upon their anſwer thoſe ſupplies ſhould advance immediately under the conduct of good officers, taking their route along the Maes, which was not indeed the moſt agreeable, nor the ſhorteſt way, but was the moſt ſecure, which was a matter of great importance; or elſe, that the whole army ſhould be disbanded, except thirty thouſand foot, and ſix hundred troopers, who, ſtrengthened by four cannons only and two culverins, ſhould form a flying camp, ready to go wherever there was any appearances of an action: and this I thought ſufficient to keep every place in order: that, till then, it was neceſſary to put the troops of Champaign into garriſon, after giving them their full pay.

I GAVE much the ſame advice, with reſpect to the army of Dauphiné, as it had been already raiſed to ſupport the duke of Savoy, who, in compliance with our requeſt, had, or probably would, embroil himſelf with all his neighbours; therefore it might be juſtly expected, that we ſhould either endeavour to reconcile him with the king of Spain, or put him into a condition to defend himſelf; and, as we could not take any reſolution upon this head till we had ſent another deputy to this prince, or perhaps till a long time afterwards, I adviſed that this army ſhould be likewiſe put into convenient winter quarters, after making ſo exact a review of them, that no falſe muſter might be apprehended, till there was occaſion for them, or till they were disbanded altogether.

I FOUND that I was heard with attention: my reaſons ſeemed to have made a general impreſſion; but with this difference, that ſenſible and well diſpoſed perſons did not ſcruple to diſcover this effect, by ſhewing ſigns of approbation, and even by applauſes; whereas all the others not only carefully concealed it, either through vanity, neglect, or rather through jealouſy, but alſo combated by reaſons with eagerneſs and heat. I took care to inform Bethune, my couſin, of all this, who, in a letter he wrote to me, deſired my advice upon the alteration which the public loſs muſt neceſſarily make in his embaſſy to the German princes. I ſhall not tranſcribe his letter, nor my anſwer to it, becauſe they contained nothing eſſentially different from what has been juſt ſaid, except perhaps that I examined more particularly the good or bad effects

effects of the advice I had given in the council: this, for example, is a thing that merits to be well obſerved, that which way ſoever it ſhall happen that a body of troops may find entrance into Germany to join the confederate princes, that entrance would be accompanied with great hazard, though the body conſiſted of ten thouſand men, unleſs the allies on their ſide facilitated their advance by meeting them within ten or twelve leagues of our frontiers. The ſcheme of embarking them at Calais, if that was choſen, would be likewiſe inconvenient; it would ſupply our confederates with foot only, and that to no greater number than eight thouſand; and it was even neceſſary that we ſhould have a right underſtanding with each other. I forewarned Bethune with reſpect to a thing which required the attention of him and his correſpondents, which was, that France, by changing her maſter, had changed every thing elſe; and I ſhewed my aſtoniſhment, that the princes who employed him ſhould expreſs their ſchemes, deſires, and reſolutions, in ſo unintelligible a manner. I left it to his diſcretion to judge what uſe he ought to make of a letter, in which it was neceſſary I ſhould avoid explaining myſelf clearly upon ſeveral things: as for advice, I ſaid, I had no other to give him, but to continue, 'till he received new orders, to act as he had done hitherto, and I promiſed him faithfully to take care of his intereſts. This letter was dated May 24. 1610.

Some days afterwards I was ſummoned to a more particular council upon this affair. M. de Jacop, ambaſſador from the duke of Savoy, ſuſpecting that the reſolutions taken by the members of the new council were not very favourable to his maſter, had preſſed the queen regent to declare her intentions to him as ſoon as poſſible, that his highneſs might take ſuch meaſures thereupon as his intereſt required. We were to conſult, therefore, upon the declarations proper to be made to this ambaſſador. When I came to the Louvre, in the morning, I found only the conſtable, the chancellor, and Villeroi, with the queen; Gêvres and Loménie had been there, but Villeroi had perſuaded the queen to ſend them away, for which Gêvres made bitter complaints. I ſuſpected, by the ſtudied geſtures and the winding diſcourſe which one of theſe gentlemen began to make, that there was ſomething they wanted to conceal from me. "Madam," ſaid I to the queen, with my uſual frankneſs, "I know not for what end you have been pleaſed to ſummon "me hither; my preſence either hinders theſe gentlemen from explain- "ing themſelves, or elſe they are come only to entrap one another. "The buſineſs I perceive relates to the duke of Savoy; it is well "known that I am not in great friendſhip with him: however, ſince

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I PERCEIVED the queen to smile at this speech, and whisper Villeroi; then, turning to me, she said, "M. de Sully, it is true we are met to "consult upon the duke of Savoy's affairs; but there are others of still "greater consequence, which it is necessary we should attend to. You "see what quarrels are risen among many of the grandees of the king-"dom, whose ambition and avarice, you say, are insatiable. I entreat "you to think of some remedy for this evil, that it may be proposed in "the first council. With respect to M. de Savoy, these gentlemen "and I, before you came, had talked of that business; and we are all "of this opinion, that a reconciliation between France and Spain is "most for our interest; and for this purpose we are determined to send "one of the princes of the blood to Madrid, on occasion of the death of "my lord the king, who shall be accompanied with a person well in-"structed in our affairs, and upon whose secrecy we may securely rely. "He shall set on foot this reconciliation, and propose an alliance be-"tween the two crowns by a double marriage, which I know the Spa-"niards still wish for as ardently as they did formerly; and while this "affair is negociating, in which I foresee no great difficulty, or that it "will be long protracted, we must flatter the duke of Savoy in his first "hopes and expectations, till we can declare ourselves without danger."

THIS resolution gave me great uneasiness, which I discovered by my silence and shrugging up my shoulders. The queen took notice of it, and pressed me to tell her my opinion. I represented to her, that we could not, without exposing ourselves to the reproach of having violated our faith, abandon a prince who had broken all his engagements with Spain, and openly declared himself against that crown *, at the per-

* By the treaty of Brusol, which had been concluded on the 25th of April. See it in Nevers's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 880. The duke of Savoy, being abandoned by the new council in France, could not escape the resentments of the court of Spain, but by the most humiliating step a crowned head can possibly be reduced to. His son came to throw himself at the king of Spain's feet, beseeching him to take the duke his father, and all his house, under his royal protection. He told the king, that he em-

suasion

ſuaſion of the deceaſed king; that, ſince we had altered our views, we ought to give him notice of it, and at the ſame time conceal this ſtep from the king of Spain, or rather make him believe we had acted very differently, till, by a general reconciliation, we had put thoſe out of danger, who would not have been in it but through us. Theſe arguments, however juſt and reaſonable, made no impreſſion on the queen and her counſellors; nor did they even approve the medium my laſt words had hinted at, but coldly told me, that this way would engage them in a train of tedious negotiations. I replied with that confidence which a good cauſe inſpires, that I found the ſacrificing the duke of Savoy was a point determined on, and appeared to me to have been ſo before this conſultation. I drew preſages, no leſs certain to the diſadvantage of our allies, from all the looks and ſigns of intelligence, which I ſurpriſed between the queen, the chancellor, and Villeroi: but the new counſellors, and the confidents of that princeſs, ſoon threw off all reſtraint, and declared their ſentiments freely; the deceaſed king's government, ſo wiſe, ſo gentle, and ſo glorious for France, was condemned almoſt publicly, and even deſpiſed and ridiculed; at one time, they treated his deſigns as mere chimeras; at another they repreſented him as a weak puſillanimous prince, incapable of taking any noble reſolution. It was not enough to leave the death of this great prince unpuniſhed; they added to that neglect all ſorts of outrages againſt his memory, and, unhappily for us, heaven, which reſerved to itſelf this vengeance, ſuffered envy and ingratitude to triumph in their ſucceſs. 1610.

I RETURNED home full of grief at what I ſaw and heard. "We "are going," ſaid I to madame de Sully, whoſe prudence I well knew, "to fall under the domination of Spain and the jeſuits: all true French-"men, and proteſtants eſpecially, muſt look well to their ſafety; for "they will not continue long in tranquility." This reflection kept me in a profound reverie all dinner-time. The biſhop of Montpelier came to viſit me in the afternoon: he entreated me to give him an opportunity of conferring with me in my cloſet, from whence, in about half an hour, I let him out by a private door; for he did not deſire to be known,

braced his knees, that he had recourſe to his clemency, and that, with the moſt humble ſubmiſſion, he aſked his pardon for the faults he had been guilty of againſt him, &c. Siri moſt certainly miſtakes his aim, if he pretends to make us admire the politics of the new council, by giving us ſuch inſtances as this of their proceedings. One muſt be as much prejudiced as this writer againſt Henry IV. and the duke of Sully, and as violent a partiſan of the Spaniards, to approve of a manner of acting ſo oppoſite to that juſtice and generoſity France has always profeſſed to ſhew.

1610. and therefore hid his face with his handkerchief that none of my people might see it. "I have heard some news just now," said I to my wife, and three or four persons in whom I confided; "a secret council has "been held at the house of the nuncio Ubaldini, at which were present "the chancellor, Conchini, Villeroi, the bishop of Beziers, and another "person whose name was not known, but he was thought to be the "duke of Epernon: they condemned, they even spoke with scorn "and contempt of the deceased king's designs: nor was I treated "any better by them. It was resolved there to change entirely all "the maxims of our government, and all our political alliances; to "write to the pope, and promise to be guided wholly by his advice; "to enter into a strict union with Spain, and as soon as it was solidly "established, all those who shewed any dislike to it, especially the "huguenots, should be removed from the administration of affairs, and "banished the court. If I am wife, continued I, I shall quietly re- "sign all my posts and employments, withdraw all my money, or as "much of it as I can; with part of it purchase some strong castle in "one of the most distant provinces, and keep the remainder for any "exigencies that may happen."

We were still conversing upon this subject when the duke of Rohan, the two Bethunes, my brother, and my cousin, my son and two or three more of my most intimate friends came in, to whom I imparted what I had heard, and the resolution I had taken upon it. They maintained that the information could not be true; that I was going to take a step which would draw upon me the reproach of ingratitude to the state, and to the children of the king, my benefactor; that I might very easily continue in the possession of all my employments, and the exercise of all my offices; and that it would appear weak and mean to yield thus to my enemies at the first encounter. I could not be convinced by their arguments, nor could I bring them to admit of mine. "It "is your desire then, said I at last, that I should sacrifice myself for "the public, my family, and my friends; for I see plainly that your "interest has great part in what you say to me. I will do so, since you "force me to it; but remember what I now tell you: this concession "will procure you no advantage, and will bring great trouble, loss, "and even disgrace upon me; and I am going, added I, to give you "a specimen of it this moment."

Having observed that the courtiers of the highest rank, and those among them most remarkable for their pride and insolence, had not disdained

disdained to make advances, and meanly court the friendship of him who appeared to engross the queen's favour, I concluded with myself that it would be very difficult to preserve the same connection, and the same good intelligence (in appearance at least) with the court, as I had formerly, unless I expressed some kind of regard for the new favourite. I had resolved, in case this thought should hold, to make use of Arnaud the younger for this purpose, who of himself was but too much disposed to worship the rising sun. I had sent for him in the morning and acquainted him with the commission I intended to give him ere long, to wait upon monsieur Conchini *, and to make him offers of service in my name. I had already told him in what manner to turn his compliment, which I shall here give the reader: he was to tell Conchini, that I bore him no ill will for the height fortune was going to raise him to, by giving him the same place with the queen as I had held with the late king; that I looked upon this event as one of those, which happen too often in the order of providence, to occasion much surprise; that the queen regent, by this advancement of him, justly repaid the attachment which his wife and himself had always shewn for her, and the good services she had received from them; that, by chusing him to preside over the administration of affairs, her majesty doubtless expected to give to the king her son, and to the whole state, an able and a faithful minister, two great qualities which are alone sufficient to render a man, whoever he was, truly worthy of all the benefits her favour could 1612.

* Concino Conchini, an Italian of mean birth, according to some; but a Florentine gentleman, according to others; better known under the title of marshal D'Ancre, which he bore afterwards. He was the chief favourite of the queen regent, and loaded by her with riches and dignities. It is said that, at his departure from Florence, one of his friends asking him what he was going to do in France, his answer was, *either to make his fortune or perish*; and that he did both the one and the other. He was killed in the Louvre by Vitry, on the 24th of August 1617, by order of king Lewis XIII. and at the solicitation of the nobility. The hatred which was conceived against him, has caused him to be painted in the blackest colours. Very few have done justice to the good qualities he possessed: but perhaps divine justice designed to revenge the horrible assassination of Henry the Great on the person of this Italian, one of those whom it is the most difficult to acquit of it, supposing this murder was committed by a foreign instigation. His wife, the same Leonora Galigai, so often mentioned in these Memoirs, was also put to death. They could find no other crimes to charge her with, but her having bewitched the queen her mistress. "I have never, answered she to "her judges, made use of any witchcraft "but my wit; is it at all to be wondered "at that I governed the queen who had "none? Cardinal Richelieu, adds Ame- "lot, owed the first steps towards his for- "tune to this woman." They both were possessed of the magic of eloquence. We must search in the histories of Mary of Medicis, and of Lewis XIII. for whatever relates to this matter. There are also some anecdotes relating to it, which are curious enough, in Bassompierre's Memoirs.

secure

1610. ſecure to him; that, being equally purſuaded of the queen's laudable deſigns, and of his diſpoſition to ſecond them, I freely and cordially offered to him all thoſe meaſures which a long experience had furniſhed me with; an offer which he would find worthy of acceptance, if he reflected, that beſides the public good, which would neceſſarily reſult from it, he would reap ſome advantage to himſelf, in not purchaſing the favours which in the ſequel would be ſhowered on him, with the jealouſy of the nobles, the public hatred, the prejudice of affairs, and the oppreſſion of the people; that the only return I demanded of him for thus entering into his views of grandeur and intereſt, was to endeavour to gratify them by following thoſe maxims of government by which the late king had rendered his people happy, and his kingdom flourithing. Of theſe maxims, one which the preſent ſtate of affairs ſeemed to make moſt neceſſary, was not to accuſtom the men of buſineſs, and thoſe importunate petitioners that haunt the court, to depend upon obtaining all they ſhould demand: that, upon theſe conditions, he ſhould find me ſincerely diſpoſed to unite myſelf with him; and that from this moment I offered him my friendſhip, and requeſted his.

If the nature of my compliment be well conſidered, it will be granted that there were exceptions in theſe advances which took away all fear of having engaged myſelf too far; but, however, I believe it will be allowed that they ought to ſatisfy, and, if I may ſay ſo, flatter the vanity of him to whom they were made. Be that as it will, this meſſage appeared to me very proper to produce that effect, of which I was endeavouring to perſuade thoſe, who ſo obſtinately combated my reſolution. After having called Arnaud, and given him his inſtructions in the preſence of theſe gentlemen, "Go, ſaid I to him, to "monſieur Conchini, and deliver the meſſage to him which I gave "you in the morning, and return as ſoon as poſſible. I am much de-"ceived, added I, if all theſe gentlemen," addreſſing myſelf to them, "who have ſo good an opinion of the queen, and her private coun-"ſellors, will not find, by Conchini's anſwer, that there is nothing for "me to expect."

The company all ſtaid with me, waiting for an anſwer to my meſſage, which Arnaud brought us at the expiration of an hour, and in a manner which confirmed me in thoſe ſuſpicions I had before conceived againſt him. He began with praiſing Conchini for his great abilities, and his knowledge in matters of ſtate, dwelt upon his intereſt and powerful

powerful friends, and, slightly passing over what it most concerned me to know, he only told me, that he believed I had nothing to hope for from him, unless I was disposed to comply with him in all things. "I fancy I understand you," said I, with a * little rage I was not able to suppress; "but tell me plainly what you would be at, and let "me know what you and he said to one another." Then, as if forced to it, he gave us the following detail, shaking his head, and smiling malignantly as he spoke: That, as he entered Conchini's house, he met the president Jeannin and his brother Arnaud, who were just coming out; that they seemed concerned at seeing him there, but that they did not speak to him, nor he to them, which however I believe was not true; that a gentleman, whose name was Vincence, introducing him into Conchini's apartment, said to him, "You belong, "I think, to M. de Sully; would to God that we were to follow his "councils, rather than those of the two persons who went from hence "just now, and of several others still worse than they are! we should "not hurry things on at such a rate as they urge us to do; but the "queen's authority and our fortune would be established in a more "laudable manner, and be far more certain and durable." That, entering Conchini's apartment, he said to him, "What! monsieur Ar- "naud, are you come to visit me." That hereupon he made him the compliment, and delivered the message I had sent by him, which he now repeated to us. 1610.

Arnaud then stopped again, and, after some hesitation, said, that the answer he had received was so very short and dry, that he believed it was the best way not to repeat it. What still remained for him to tell was precisely that which I most wanted to know. After suffering himself to be urged a long time, he at length told us, that Conchini, without expressing any acknowledgment for the civil offers he had made him in my name, and even without seeming to give the least attention to what he had said, replied in very bad French, and in a proud and disdainful accent, "How! M. Arnaud, the duke of Sully then expects "to govern the affairs of France as he did in the late king's time: he "is much mistaken; the queen being queen, it is for her to dispose "of all things as she pleases, and I would advise him to be wholly "guided by her will: as for my wife and I, we have no occasion for "the assistance or favour of any one; her majesty esteems us because

* M. de Sully had a custom of scratching his head, if any one vexed or embarrassed him.

"we

1610. "we have ſerved her faithfully: it is not in the power of any perſon "whatever to deprive us of her favour, or to hinder the effects of it. "If M. de Sully has any requeſts to make, he will have more occaſion "for our aſſiſtance than we of his, which he has ſent you to offer us; "and poſſibly, if he knew how much we are courted, he would be "more reſpectful than he has hitherto been: there is not any prince or "nobleman of the court who has neglected to viſit us, except him and "one more."

The company, who had not expected an anſwer ſo rude and inſolent, ſtared upon one another, and ſhrugged up their ſhoulders, but did not utter a word. "Well, gentlemen, ſaid I to them, do you ſtill "think it poſſible for me to keep my employments with honour, and "that they will ſuffer me to continue at the head of affairs as former-"ly?" They acknowledged that they had formed a wrong judgment of the true ſtate of things. This led us into many other converſations, which were very long, but of too little conſequence to be related here. In the end, however, it was concluded, that we ſhould allow ſomething to chance, precipitate nothing, and expect what the arrival of M. the prince of Condé would produce, upon whom many others, as well as myſelf, had founded great hopes.

It was from Pallot that I received the firſt information of this prince's having entered the kingdom; and he told me, at the ſame time, that, being not well furniſhed with ready money, I might make my court to him very ſucceſsfully, by paying him, without waiting till he demanded it, one half year of his penſion. Fortunately it was in my power to do him this favour without incurring the reproach of having diſpoſed of the king's money at my own pleaſure, and without ſtaying for an order; for this ſum had been carried to account, tho' it was not yet delivered to the prince; becauſe the late king, being unwilling to let him know that he had ſtill indulgence enough for him to continue his penſion, waited till ſome opportunity ſhould offer when I might ſend it him as if from myſelf. I had already paid half the ſum to two perſons whom the prince had commiſſioned to demand it, and, remembering that they had told me about eight days ago that the money was ſtill in their hands, I ordered the whole ſum to be delivered to Pallot, who, when he paid it to the prince, took care to give him a juſt notion of this inſtance of my attachment to him. In reality, at that time, it was one of the greateſt ſervices I could have done him; and he was ſo much obliged by it, that he declared publicly, as I was informed

informed by a ſon of M. D'Harcourt's, that he would not enter Paris till he had ſeen me and aſked my advice, which he was reſolved to follow. As I then ſaw myſelf ſurrounded with none but enemies, I was truly rejoiced at having thus extinguiſhed that reſentment which the firſt prince of the blood had ſo long borne me. He did me the honour to depute to me, at different times, Meſſieurs de Rieux, de Montataire, de Clermont, and other gentlemen, to acquaint me with his ſituation and his deſigns. 1610. Peter de Harcourt, marquis of Beuvron.

The prince of Condé, upon the news of the king's death, had inſtantly ſet out for France, and hoped, by making extraordinary haſte, to arrive time enough to take advantage of the rights due to his rank upon this occaſion, which was exactly like that on which the king of Navarre, his great uncle, had endeavoured to gain the preference before Catherine de Medicis; but being ſoon informed that the queen, without ſtaying for him, or for any of the other princes of the blood, without firſt ſettling a council of regency as the laws directed, or obſerving any of the uſual forms on ſuch occaſions, had been rather declared than choſen regent, he found that he could no longer indulge a hope of obtaining the regency, and even began to entertain ſome doubts about the treatment they were preparing for him at court, where, after this, his preſence could not fail of being unwelcome: but, as he imagined that nothing was more likely to give weight to his demands, than the reſpect and diſtinction which the nobles ſhould be obſerved to pay him upon this occaſion, he cauſed them to be ſounded, and gave them to underſtand, that he ſhould think himſelf obliged to all thoſe who ſhould come to meet him, and eſcort him into Paris.

This propoſal was made to me as well as the reſt; but I thought the place I filled required that, before I complied with it, I ſhould obtain the queen's permiſſion, as ſhe now repreſented the perſon of the king. She did not expreſsly forbid me to go and meet the prince; but, by the manner in which ſhe received my requeſt, ſhe inſinuated that I ſhould do her pleaſure if I abſtained from ſhewing him that inſtance of reſpect. I alſo found, by the few words ſhe ſaid, that ſhe gave me, as well as others, liberty to chuſe between her and the princes of the blood; for it was apparent that ſhe did not expect to be upon good terms with them. It was probable, likewiſe, that the coldneſs and reſerve which appeared in her countenance, proceeded from ſome reſentment ſhe entertained againſt me for having paid the prince the money I have mentioned; for her confidents had diſcovered the affair, and did

1610. not fail to inform her of it; and she, without doubt, had forgot that that sum made an article of expence which had been inserted in the accounts: it is likely also, that the council which was held, and which I forgot to mention till now, was one consequence of this resentment. It was there determined, that, till a new order, I should be continued to have the direction of the finances, particularly of what related to the pensions of state. I was apprehensive that the queen wanted only such an incident as this, to withdraw her favour from me entirely; and I was resoved not to expose myself to her hatred, for a thing which did not appear to me to be of much importance. As to the prince, he dispached couriers upon couriers to prevail with me to alter my resolution; and at length he ordered the gentlemen before mentioned to assure me, that he was absolutely determined not to come to Paris at all, since I refused to accompany him in his entry, and to confer with him upon those affairs which would decide the part he was to take, and which he could only know from me.

Thus importuned, I went again to the queen, to solicit her consent that I should meet the prince; but I could obtain no other permission, than such a one as plainly indicated her displeasure at my asking it. The choice I was to make was so much the more perplexing, as it lay between two parties which from thenceforward must be looked on as totally opposite to each other: however, I declared myself openly for that which would consider my compliance as an essential service, rather than the other, by whom it could be only acknowledged as an instance of complaisance which would be soon forgot. And I went to meet the prince *, who, notwithstanding all that the duke of Epernon could say to him, would not set out from the place where he had dined, till he knew that I was not far off. I met him in the open road, and alighted to pay my respects to him; but he was off his horse almost as soon as me, and came to embrace me with equal marks of joy and deference. He began a conference with me as we stood, which lasted a quarter of an hour, though d'Epernon represented to him that it would be late before he got to Paris: he addressed himself by the way often to me upon different subjects. I attended him to the gates of the Louvre, where I left him to pay his compliments † to the queen, and returned myself to the arsenal.

* "The prince, says Matthieu, was at "his house at Chateauroux: he had seen "the duke of Sully, who had advised him "to return to court, as his presence alone "would be of more advantage to the king's "service, &c. Ibid. 28.

† "The prince came to Paris the 15th "of July, accompanied by fifteen hundred

IT was very poſſible, that at the time when the prince of Condé 1610.
ſeemed apprehenſive of meeting with ſome ill uſage from the queen, he ſecretly flattered himſelf with having a very different reception, when he reflected upon the good intelligence they were in formerly: and perhaps he had upon theſe expectations, formed a plan of conduct quite contrary to that he laid down to me, and aſſured me he would follow. It was the general opinion when he left France, that his diſcontent and his flight were the effects of that princeſs's advice and perſuaſions; and the late king was told ſo: however that may be, the prince, if he built any thing upon the former friendſhip between him and the queen, was ſoon undeceived, and knew by experience, that it was of no force againſt the jealouſy of abſolute power. The queen ſeemed to have forgot the time when they gave the name of their common intereſt to the motives by which they were actuated; but it was not her entering into recital of the affairs of ſtate, and the government which baniſhed paſt ſcenes from her remembrance; for ſhe communicated nothing to him upon thoſe heads, and confined herſelf to a ceremonial ſo grave, ſo cold, and reſerved, that the prince came away from the Louvre, greatly diſguſted with his reception.

ALL this I diſcovered by the diſcourſe we had together when he came to viſit me two days afterwards, though he did not at firſt explain himſelf freely, and named no one. I waited for an explanation of his ſentiments, before I would declare mine; and till then I was ſtill more reſerved than he was: but at length he began to talk to me of his deſigns in terms ſo clear, expreſſed all at once ſo much eſteem for me, and ſuch unlimited confidence in my ſincerity, ſhewed ſo ardent a deſire to labour, in concert with me, to find proper meaſures to hinder that confuſion and diſorder with which the affairs of the ſtate and the finances were threatned, demanded ſo ſincerely my advice con-

" gentlemen, which greatly alarmed the " queen, who was afraid, as the artillery, " the Baſtile, and the late king's treaſures, " were in his power, by means of the duke " of Sully; in caſe the parliament and " people ſhould not prove faithful, he " might attempt things of very dangerous " conſequence to the king's ſervice. The " prince had no leſs miſtruſt of others than " what they had of him. On his arrival, " he had notice given him three or four " times, that the queen, at the inſtigation " of the count of Soiſſons, had formed " a deſign to ſecure him and the duke of " Bouillon; which was the reaſon, that " notwithſtanding the kind reception he " met with from both their majeſties, " he was up three nights, ready to quit " Paris on the firſt notice he ſhould re- " ceive of any attempts being formed " againſt him." Hiſt. de la Mere & du Fils, vol. I. p. 121.

1610. cerning the conduct he ſhould purſue for the public good, in the midſt of thoſe obſtacles which jealouſy, hatred, and faction, were going to oppoſe to his deſigns, that I thought I owed ſo much to his generous confidence, and to the laudable motive by which he was inſpired, as to open my heart to him freely upon all that he had ſaid: to this I was more fully determined by his telling me candidly, that among all thoſe to whom he communicated his earneſt wiſhes, that the political and domeſtic affairs of the ſtate might ſtill continue to be governed by the ſame maxims which the late king had purſued, there was not one who did not endeavour to make him alter his opinion, and give him a diſguſt to the former adminiſtration. I was afraid that the view of difficulties either abſolutely unſurmountable, or which could not be overcome without infinite hazard, would throw him into the path they ſought to lead him to.

After I had thanked him for the honour of his eſteem and confidence, I made him the following anſwer, and almoſt in theſe words: That thoſe perſons whom he had conſulted upon the preſent queſtion, were all too much intereſted in it to give him ſuch advice as might ruin their hopes and expectations; that I could offer him no other than ſuch as I would give to his uncles, the prince of Conti and count of Soiſſons; and to the queen herſelf, were they to conſult me with any intentions to be influenced by my reaſons, becauſe the real intereſt of all four, if well examined, would be found to be the ſame; and this advice was, to unite together to ſupport the honour and grandeur of the king againſt the nobles, and againſt that crowd of importunate, ambitious, and ſelf-intereſted men, with which the court was filled; ſince the deſigns of all thoſe perſons were, by methods the leaſt allowable, to take advantage of a conjuncture which has at all times been the triumph of avarice and licentiouſneſs: that this was the point from which they were to ſet out; and that they might not go aſide, or give an example to others which they themſelves condemned, it was neceſſary that the whole kingdom ſhould be informed, by a ſolemn declaration, that their ſole view in this union was the glory of the ſtate; and by the effects it produced, the people ſhould be convinced that they were treading in the ſteps of a king, all whoſe deſigns and undertakings had been juſtified by that ſucceſs they hoped to be favoured with: that it was indiſpenſibly neceſſary to proteſt frequently, and in the moſt public manner, that they were actuated by the ſame ſpirit by which that great prince had found the ſecret of making a kingdom, plunged in miſery and deſpair, opulent and flouriſhing; and the moſt effectual proof they

they could give of their exact imitation of him, was to have no selfish views, by refusing all the unjust demands of a whole people of greedy courtiers: I did not mean by this, that they were not to expect or desire any reward for themselves; on the contrary, it was one of the advantages which these four persons would derive from this system, that by directing all affairs with wisdom and prudence, they would in one year accumulate more riches justly and with honour, than they could in ten by any other method; but that, however, they must not suffer themselves to be tainted by avarice; and this caution I repeated the oftener, because that of all the virtues necessary to statesmen, there is not one so difficult to practise as moderation, in the midst of vast treasures and unlimited favour. I added, that I knew already all the plans formed by each of the princes to enjoy what they called the rights of their birth; but also, that by preserving themselves from that dangerous snare, no power would be able to resist them: were all the nobles and all the heads of the different factions to be leagued against them, the interest of the king, when supported by such methods, would become the public and the general interest, and the impression made by the royal name would be then carried to its highest pitch. 1610.

I THEN told the prince, that all which now remained was to know, whether the queen and the two other princes of the blood, were disposed to take such measures as were necessary for the success of this scheme; but that I was so far from flattering him with this hope, that I freely declared to him, that he ought not to reckon upon their concurrence: yet that this should not make him dispense with himself from using his utmost endeavours to bring the queen over, as well because it was necessary that, in a point of this consequence, he should have no cause to reproach himself with any neglect, as because this princess, being already in possession of the royal authority, he would have occasion for the strongest reasons he could urge, to justify to the public the extremities he would be obliged to proceed to. That, after this precaution, no consideration whatever should hinder him from taking upon himself the discharge of a duty which the princes his uncles were not willing to share with him; but that, when thus deprived of all other support, he must make his actions speak for him: these must shew a disinterestedness so determined, a candor and probity so distinguished, as may accustom the people to look upon him as the true friend of the king, themselves, and the state: that a man who employed only such arms as these, in a rank so elevated, would sooner or later carry all before him: that the princes of Conti and Soissons would be among the

first

1610. firſt who were ſenſible of it, by comparing the honour which a procedure ſo great and diſintereſted would reflect upon the royal blood, with the diſreſpect, the contempt, and often the affronts they would be expoſed to, when the public ſaw them confounded with the reſt of the ſelfiſh courtiers. That the queen herſelf would find many arguments to balance her inclination to a contrary conduct, eſpecially if ſhe ſaw the princes of the blood reunited againſt her. That, in a word, I believed I might venture to engage for it, that neceſſity, confidence, and the force of the torrent, would at length bring all over to this ſide; and that there would be no longer any connexions, quarrels, reconciliations, and cabals, between the queen, the princes, and the people in place, which would not turn to the advantage of his authority, if, from this moment, he would begin to form the plan I had ſketched out to him, and follow it faithfully.

The extreme attention with which the prince liſtened to me, convinced me that I had found the way to his heart, and that I had made upon it that ſtrong impreſſion which is the effect of virtue and juſtice united in the ſame object. What has ſince happened does not prove that I was then deceived; or if it does, it proves alſo that the prince deceived himſelf firſt; ſince it is certain, that the force of my arguments ſupported him a long time againſt the aſſaults he had on all ſides. Whatever arts were made uſe of by thoſe perſons that continually beſet him, the ſlighteſt attention to the nature of thoſe counſels they gave him, muſt have ſhewn him very plainly, that they were dictated by avarice and ambition. How different were ſuch ſentiments from thoſe I endeavoured to inſpire him with? He felt it, he was convinced of it, and yet he ſuffered himſelf, like all the reſt, to be carried along with the torrent. The duke of Bouillon contributed more than any other to engage him in the party of error *. I myſelf repreſent,

* The author of the life of the duke of Bouillon, giving an account of the counſels that duke gave the prince of Condé, ſays, "He adviſed him to leave "the queen the quality of regent, but to "reduce it to a mere title, which might "ſatisfy her vanity; but to get all the "actual authority into his own hands. "He told him, he knew an infallible way "of bringing this to paſs, which, if he "would purſue, he would be anſwerable "for the ſucceſs: that this method conſiſted in his again making profeſſion of "the calviniſt religion, from which the "late king had drawn him, and to declare "himſelf the protector of the proteſtants "in France: that being, in conſequence "of this ſtep, followed by the calviniſt "nobility, of whom he would be head, "maſter of all the ſtrong places in the "poſſeſſion of that party (that is, of an "hundred and three towns and places, "well fortified) ſupported by all the Swiſs "in France, of whom the duke of Rohan

and

and probably exaggerate, every thing that can ſerve to juſtify this prince, by candidly acknowledging that it was not difficult to paint, in the fineſt colours, thoſe motives by which they endeavoured to undermine my principles; and that it ought not to appear ſurpriſing, that a prince young and unexperienced, ſhould not have diſcernment enough to diſtinguiſh appearances from realities; nor firmneſs enough to prefer what is uſeful to what flatters and pleaſes. It was by the following arguments that they effaced all the impreſſion which mine had made in his mind. 1610.

THEY told him, that the reaſons I had urged to him tended only to engage him in an abſurd imaginary ſyſtem; that ſuch refined maxims neither ſuited our times nor our manners; that probity and virtue alone ſignified nothing; that the chimera's with which I filled his imagination would be laughed at by all reaſonable perſons; that by thus aſpiring to be the ſupport of the whole nation, he would only incur a general hatred, and too late regret, that he had not made a better uſe of ſo happy a conjuncture: that the only wiſe part for him to take, at a time when the royal treaſures were going to become a public prey, was to claim the beſt and the largeſt portion of them for himſelf, as being, after their majeſties, the firſt perſon in the kingdom *; that he had profited but little by the neceſſitous condition to which he had been reduced, if it had not taught him, that when an opportunity offered to extricate himſelf from it, it ought to be received with open arms:

" was colonel-general; ſecure of all the " treaſures left by the late king in the Baſtile, which the duke of Sully, diſcon- " tented with the regent, could put into " his hands: it could not, with all theſe " great advantages, be any way doubted, " but a firſt prince of the blood, as he was " during a minority, muſt be in a condi- " tion to ſeize on all the authority, and " make himſelf equally formidable within " the kingdom as without.—God did not " permit him to follow this advice of the " duke of Bouillon; if he had, the cal- " viniſts would have recovered all the ad- " vantages they had loſt by the late king's " converſion: in all probability, the king- " dom would have been divided between " them and the catholics; and their re- " public, which was treated as imaginary, " would at laſt have proved ſomething " real." Vol. II. p. 307. But many continued perſuaded, as this hiſtorian himſelf afterwards owns, that the duke of Bouillon did not ſeriouſly make this propoſition to the prince; that he was the firſt to divert him from it; and that all his intent was, only to let the regent ſee, that he himſelf would be a ſufficient ſecurity againſt all the miſchief he was able to do her.

* " He would gladly," ſays the ſame hiſtorian I have juſt been quoting, " have " conteſted the regency if he had dared; " but he was diverted from it by the kind " treatment he met with. He had a pen- " ſion of two hundred thouſand livres given " him, together with the palace of Conti, " in the ſuburb of Saint Germain, which " had been bought for two hundred thou- " ſand francs, the county of Clermont, " and many other gratifications."

1610. that he might be assured it was not so much for his interest as my own, that I endeavoured to throw him into a desperate party; that this was the only resource I had left to support my expiring credit: that by seeking to connect his interests with mine, I should drag him down the precipice with me: that the hatred of the nobles and the ministers against me was so great and invincible, that the bare suspicion of my having any influence over him, was sufficient to ruin all his expectations and designs: that I had disdained to offer my friendship and services to any one; and, in revenge, all were so well agreed upon that one point, my ruin, that there was no condition which they would not accept from those who were going to have the disposal of all favours and rewards, provided my disgrace was annexed to it.

On occasions like these, when one has been able to render the advice suspected, the adviser is not far from being hated: this was what they undertook to accomplish, and they succeeded. They gave the prince to understand, that it was absolutely necessary for the system he was going to embrace, that my ruin should be resolved on: what I had said to him myself confirmed it to him; all my own words were turned against me; so that by a strange caprice of the mind (of which, however, politics have furnished more than one example) those very sentiments which but a moment before the prince had admired in my mouth, laid the foundation of that hatred he from thenceforward began to bear me, and of the persecution he raised against me. Then it was that the resolution was taken, not to suffer me to continue any longer in the ministry * than was necessary for their own schemes; and in the mean time to undermine, by degrees, what power I had still left, and to withdraw, without any seeming design, all the papers, memoirs, and instructions, relating to the finances, which were in my hands, till the moment arrived when I was to be dismissed for ever. If the execution of this plot was deferred till the following year, it was only because some unforeseen difficulties retarded it.

Probably I did not at that time know all the plots which were then secretly forming against me; but I guessed at so many of them, that I resumed, with more earnestness than formerly, the resolution that I had endeavoured to make my family agree to, which was, to

* All these intrigues amongst the princes, the courtiers, and the ministers, to get the duke of Sully removed, are related in particular memoirs, and especially in L'Histoire de la Mere et du Fils, vol. I. p. 11, & seq. 120, 127, & seq. In the History of the duke of Bouillon, vol. II. p. 313, & seq.

retire from court before I ſhould appear to be forced from it: I even went ſo far as to mention my deſign to the queen regent, and intreated her not to oppoſe it. Although, by this propoſal, I was doubtleſs anſwering all her views, yet ſhe uſed ſuch profound diſſimulation in the anſwer ſhe made me, that although I had ſuffered myſelf to be deceived, yet I think I could not have been accuſed of too great credulity. Conchini and his wife had never more influence over her than then: ſhe began to be wholly governed by them; yet ſhe pretended to be as much diſguſted with their proceedings as I was myſelf: ſhe endeavoured to perſuade me that ſhe was fully ſatisfied with my conduct; that ſhe ſhould be greatly perplexed if I abandoned her, at a time when the king's coronation would give her ſufficient employment; and that it would take up all the remainder of the year, to prepare for the changes which my diſmiſſion from my employments muſt neceſſarily make in affairs. I accommodated myſelf to her will, without ſuffering my own to be altered; for though I continued to perform all the duties of my offices, yet I was ſo conſtantly upon my guard againſt the machinations of my enemies, that I would not leave them an opportunity of ſpoiling me themſelves. 1610.

They at length came to a reſolution with regard to the affair of Cleves: indeed it could not be longer delayed, if they had any deſire to appear concerned in it. The army of the confederates, joined to that of the United Provinces, had laid ſiege to Juliers; and the prince of Orange, who commanded it, had taken ſuch meaſures, that the place muſt of neceſſity fall into his hands. Our ſupplies were wholly uſeleſs to him, becauſe the houſe of Auſtria had taken no ſtep, nor ſet any troops on foot, to oppoſe her enemies: and after this exploit, the war, as they propoſed to carry it on, muſt be ſoon at an end. But the new council of the queen, compoſed of thoſe perſons I have already mentioned, thought they ſhould ſhew a maſter-piece of policy, by granting them now more than what they had been ſo long and ineffectually ſoliciting. They knew the condition the beſieged city was in, and they were deſirous of having the honour of taking it, as it could not hold out long, after the arrival of our troops. They likewiſe imagined, that this would be an incitement to the king of Spain to ſolicit an alliance with us, for which they thought he did not ſhew eagerneſs enough; and they were aſhamed to make all the advances themſelves. It was reſolved, therefore, that a body of eight thouſand foot, twelve hundred horſe, and eight pieces of cannon, ſhould be immediately ſent to Juliers; and that the command of this army ſhould be given to the marechal de la Châtre.

1610. When this determination was made public, and, for form's ſake, laid before the general council, I could not hinder myſelf from ſpeaking my ſentiments of it freely. I deſired to know for what end they were at the expence of this army, againſt enemies who did not defend themſelves, and for allies who no longer needed our aſſiſtance? I declared my opinion of this unſeaſonable ſuccour, which was not much for our honour. I repreſented to them the difficulties and delays to which our troops were expoſed by this unneceſſary march: and indeed, to perform it without having any thing to fear from the enemies they might meet in their journey, they muſt be obliged to go a great way about, and traverſe rude, mountainous, and barren countries. Conchini, who had brought over the count of Soiſſons and the duke of Bouillon to his opinion, and who was ſatisfied with his own ſecret reaſons, ſuffered me to talk on, like a man whom they ſcorned to diſcloſe their deſigns to: and the departure of the troops was reſolved on. However, to prevent any further importunity from me, and to give me even a perſonal intereſt in this armament, they granted my ſon-in-law (who had long ſolicited a diſtinguiſhing employment in the German army) the poſt of field-marſhal-general; which was likely to be ſo much the more acceptable, as this quality gave him an unqueſtionable right to command in chief, if any thing happened to the general. It was not impoſſible even that La-Châtre would, through ſome diſguſt, reſign the command, as he had more than once been upon the point of doing. The difficulty of the roads alarmed him, as well as the dangers he might encounter in his march; and he alſo owned to me, and to ſome others of the council, that the Jeſuits raiſed great ſcruples in his mind about joining the heretics againſt good catholics. However, I gave him a little courage, by telling him of a more convenient rout than that which he had deſigned to take; and he diſpoſed himſelf to begin his march.

The preparations for this armament, which fell to my charge, were made in ſuch a manner, that the army was compoſed of the beſt troops we had then on foot; they had a complete train of artillery, well ſerved; and the ſund for the expences was ſo large, that the treaſurer brought back an hundred thouſand crowns. Prince Maurice acknowledged, that he had not for a long time, ſeen a body of forces ſo fine and ſo well diſciplined: he expreſſed ſome ſurprize, indeed, that the general, who, by all appearances, ſhould be one of our beſt ſoldiers, had but a very ſlight knowledge of what was practiſed in ſieges, and in other parts of war.

This

1610.

This is all that I ſhall ſay of this expedition: the hiſtorians * have given a more particular account of what happened in it, how our army paſſed into Germany, and how it returned. My fears of being too ſincere upon this ſubject, and the very unuſeful part I now began to act, obliges me to haſten towards the concluſion of theſe Memoirs.

* See an account of the taking of Juliers, and this expedition, in the Merc. Franc. and other hiſtorians, ann. 1610.

The taking of Juliers obliged the Emperor to lay aſide his deſign of ſequeſtring, into the hands of the archduke Leopold of Auſtria, the territories that were in diſpute; and the dukes of Brandenburg and Neuburg quietly ſhared the whole ſucceſſion betwixt them: the elector of Brandenburg had Cleves, La-Mark, and Ravensberg; and the duke of Neuburg, Juliers and Berg. Philip-Lewis, ſon of this duke of Neuburg, had two ſons; of whom one continued the branch of Neuburg; and from the youngeſt, the counts of Sulsback are deſcended; in whom the two branches are now going to be reunited, becauſe the branch of Neuburg will determine in the preſent elector Palatine: and from hence, an hundred and thirty years after the death of duke William of Juliers, the ſame difficulties on this eventual ſucceſſion are again likely to ariſe; the king of Pruſſia, of the houſe of Brandenburg, being able to produce the following reaſon for his oppoſition to this reunion, that the two branches were ſeparated when the treaty of 1666 was made, which ſeems only to ſtipulate for deſcendants of the contracting parties †; and the Emperor, on the other hand, finding it his intereſt to ſupport the prince of Sulsback; becauſe, if this young prince ſhould happen to die without iſſue male, he would make uſe of his old pretence of the male fiefs, as a reaſon for his taking poſſeſſion of Juliers and Berg; beſides the intereſt he would have in it on account of the princes of Saxony his allies.

There appeared a work in two volumes in 1738, wherein this matter is diſcuſſed and very well explained.

† This was written before the death of the laſt Emperor, and the laſt elector Palatine.

MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK XXIX.

1610. THAT which had juſt paſſed with reſpect to Cleves, and the conduct of the queen regent with reſpect to me, took from me at length all hope of bringing back the court to its juſt notions upon the two chief points of government, the conduct of foreign affairs and the management of the finances: on the contrary, the changeableneſs of the prince, what I ſaw daily paſs before my eyes, and, above all, the air of diſſimulation which in the laſt place they had recourſe to, convinced me that they would never get out of the confuſion in which the affairs of the council ſeemed to be loſt, but by ſuch an extrication as I was always afraid of. In order to bring that about, ſome time was neceſſary; for connections ſo ſtrong and ſo well cemented as thoſe which the king had formed for the deſtruction of the houſe of Auſtria, with all thoſe of the princes intereſted in its deſtruction, are not broke all at once, nor ſometimes without a ſtruggle which has miſchievous conſequences. But I have no reaſon to doubt but that the queen regent and her counſellors employed all their arts to make them ineffectual. That prejudice in favour of what they called the party of religion; the hatred they bore to all proteſtants, whether French or foreigners; a natural inclination, ſtrengthened by habit, to unite with Spain, every impulſe of which they could not help following publicly, when, the deſigns of Henry the Great becoming manifeſt, they were convicted

convicted of supporting a cause at once odious and desperate: it could not be expected that the force of these motives was abated, when, by an unexpected stroke, they found themselves upon the point of accomplishing what they had so ardently desired. My religion, my engagements, the advice I had given to the late king, of which at least the certain effect would have been the free exercise of the protestant religion in France, and in all Christendom, even the death of that prince, which seemed to declare me the only repository of his sentiments, and the executor of his designs, all the glory and honour of which must necessarily reflect upon me: these were their motives for hatred against a man who had already so many powerful enemies; and, by the care which Sillery and Villeroi took to enforce them, they could not fail of having a speedy effect. 1610.

Another, less openly declared, but probably stronger than all the others, because it directly attacked those private interests, united them all a second time against me. This was a too exact and too impartial administration of the finances, for persons whose avarice had already, in imagination, engrossed to themselves all the treasures of the late king. I have, on this head, an infinite number of circumstances to relate, which certainly will not do any honour to the French name; but it would be to no purpose to be silent, since they are generally known. The reader then may here see some of the most important of them: they will serve to give him an idea of the court at that time.

I shall begin with the favourite of the queen regent. He cast his eyes at first upon the post of first gentleman of the bedchamber, not that this dignity was capable of satisfying his ambition, but it was necessary to begin by obtaining a rank which might take away the disproportion that had hitherto been between him and the other courtiers. To this motive was added some personal resentment against Bellegarde, the cause of which I shall not relate, because it would lead me into too long a discussion. It was highly flattering to the vanity of Conchini that the first step he was seen to take at court, should put him upon a par with his rival †: he therefore caused it to be proposed to the duke of Bouillon, to treat with him for this post. Bouillon, who really intended to sell it, readily accepted the proposal, and was well paid for his compliance; for, in the first place, he obtained a suppression of the

† The marquis of Ancre (for so he began then to be called) had a difference with the master of the horse, the particulars whereof may be seen in the History of the Regency of queen Mary de Medicis.

offices

1610. offices eſtabliſhed by his majeſty in the neighbourhood of Sedan, for levying taxes upon all goods and merchandizes exported and imported; ſo that this gratuity may, without exaggeration, be ſaid to be worth more to him than his whole principality. To this Conchini added two hundred thouſand livres, under a pretence that he had been promiſed that ſum upon ſurrendering his city. I repreſented to them that the duke of Bouillon had been exactly paid all that was promiſed him, and, if they looked into the account, they would be convinced of it: but what I ſaid was not regarded, and all the expence Henry had been at to get poſſeſſion of Sedan, ended in paying twice for the place, which, after all, was ſtill in Bouillon's hands.

Conchini, however, did not effect his purpoſe ſo eaſily as he had imagined: the count of Soiſſons, as I have already hinted, oppoſed him, as well in that, as in his ſolicitations for the archbiſhopric of Tours; but he did it in ſuch a manner as left him room to hope there was a poſſibility of gaining him; and Conchini ſoon found the means. He cauſed the government of Normandy to be given to him, and to this end did not ſcruple to take it away from the ſecond ſon of France. The late king, that he might avoid creating any jealouſy among thoſe who aſpired to this government (which I had refuſed with the condition of changing my religion annexed to it) and willing to oblige Fervaques, who well deſerved that he ſhould have this conſideration for him, had beſtowed it upon his own ſon. It was not poſſible for me to give my aſſent to this action of Conchini's, or to the gratuity given by the council to the count of Soiſſons, at his majeſty's expence, by purchaſing, at a high price ſome very inconſiderable claims which the houſe of Montaffie had in Piedmont, of which mention has been already made. However, notwithſtanding all my remonſtrances, the bargain was concluded. It was now their cuſtom to ſuffer me to talk, but to act without me.

Conchini found out a method how to diſpoſe of part of the king's treaſures, without its appearing that the ſums raiſed by thoſe means were received or employed for his uſe. This was by perſuading the queen to continue the iſſuing of comptants * as the late king was uſed to do.

* The comptants were orders for payment of money, or receipts for ſums paid by the king's order, without ſpecifying in what manner the money ſo paid was employed. Henry IV. and Lewis XIII. or their miniſters, ſeverely felt the abuſes that might be made of them; but an infinite number of expences, which intereſt of ſtate

She

She wrote the following letter to me upon this occaſion, dated the 15th of June: 1610.

" Cousin,

" I am reſolved, for one year more, to continue the comptants " for the payment of thoſe ſums, which the late king, my lord, " ordered the treaſurers of the exchequer to depoſite in his privy " purſe: Béringhen ſhall diſtribute the money ariſing from hence, to " the ſame perſons as formerly. I therefore ſend this to acquaint you, " that it is my deſire you ſhould direct the treaſurer of the exchequer " at preſent in office, to pay into the hands of the aforeſaid Béringhen " the ſaid comptant for the July quarter."

The next day Puget and D'Argouges brought one of theſe comptants to me that I might ſettle it, and write underneath an order for the payment. I took it, and at the firſt glance did not obſerve that it contained any thing but a great number of ſums which the late king cauſed to be paid in this form: but the amount of the whole appearing to me to be exceſſive large, inſtead of looking any farther, I told the bearers, that it was true the conduct of Henry IV. ſeemed to authoriſe this form, but that at preſent this writing did not appear to me to be any longer a ſufficient diſcharge to him who ſhould venture to give an order for its payment. They replied, that, if I would take the trouble to read to the end of the paper, I ſhould find my objection removed by a diſchage ſo valid, that I need not have recourſe for it to any other perſon. I continued to read, being curious to know how a paper, which ſeemed to contain nothing more than the articles of a comptant, and that not very long, ſhould produce a ſum of nine hundred thouſand two hundred and ten livres and fourteen ſols, which I had ſeen by caſting my eyes upon the ſum total. My curioſity was ſoon ſatisfied. The two or three firſt articles were followed by others with which I was not greatly pleaſed, and which ſeemed only inſerted there, in order to prepare me for a morſel ſtill harder to digeſt. This was a ſingle article of four hundred thouſand livres, with no other explanation than theſe few words, which were not very likely to baniſh my ſcruples: " Paid into the hands of the late king."

required to be kept ſecret, prevented their being aboliſhed. Cardinal de Richelieu determined to put an end to them, but in lieu thereof to leave a million of gold in the king's hands for his private expences, and to be diſpoſed of at his pleaſure. Teſt. Polit. Part II. p. 143.

1610. I stopped short, and, looking earneſtly upon Puget, aſked him whether this ingenious trick was of his own invention; then reſolutely told him, that the late king had never taken up ſo much money at once for his private purſe; and that I had good proofs of his having never received this ſum, either in part or the whole. He ſtill continued to anſwer with the ſame indifference, That what I ſhould ſee at the bottom would remove all difficulties. This was four or five lines, written by the queen herſelf, and in theſe terms: "We have examined the articles of the above comptant, amounting to nine hundred thouſand two hundred and ten livres and fourteen ſols, and know that this ſum was really diſburſed by the command of the late king, my lord, to be paſſed in the form of a comptant, as uſual, which he was prevented from by death. We are ſatisfied that the ſaid articles are all juſt, and order an acquittance of comptant to be expediated, to ſerve as a diſcharge for Puget, treaſurer of the exchequer. Given at Paris, July 16, 1610, ſigned Mary."

It did not immediately occur to me what reſolution it was proper for me to take; but, after a moment's reflection, "Monſieur Puget, ſaid I, what I have read does not explain to me for what reaſon ſo large a ſum is demanded of me; for I can never be perſuaded that the late king received it. It is in vain therefore, that you preſs me to ſign it upon that ſuppoſition: you muſt therefore be ſatisfied with this paper, ſuch as it is, for your diſcharge; for you may depend upon it, I will add nothing to it." The affair did not reſt there: they renewed their endeavours to obtain my ſignature with as much obſtinacy as I refuſed it; for two whole days I was perſecuted about this comptant: at laſt they left me in quiet, and it remained among the reſt of my papers; but neither the queen regent or Conchini ever forgot it. The favourite thought this but a bad example for thoſe whom he was endeavouring to bring to a perfect conformity with all his deſires: as for the queen, her reſentment at my conduct on this occaſion was ſo great, that ſhe could not, with all her art, conceal it; and if, till then, ſhe had at times made ſome ſlight reflections upon what the king her huſband had often ſaid to her, of the great uſe I ſhould be to her in the adminiſtration of affairs, from that moment all remembrance of it was eraſed, and gave place to a ſettled reſolution to beſtow my employments upon a perſon who would be more tractable.

The

The chancellor gave me an example of that ſort of behaviour they expected; but, inſtead of following it, I could not help reproaching him one day with a fraud truly unpardonable, on occaſion of a letter of exemption for the purchaſe of the regiſtry of the parliament, and of the Châtellet of Paris, which was ſhown in full council, as having been expediated and ſealed by the late king, although I knew that he had obſtinately refuſed to grant it, notwithſtanding Villeroi had, at different times, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to prevail upon him. The law ordains, that, when the king dies, his ſeal ſhall be broken. This the chancellor not only neglected to do, but even dared to make uſe of it to authenticate ſeveral falſe regulations in favour of Conchini and ſome others, and continued this practice during five years after the king's demiſe, for which he had a double conveniency, as his ſon, who was ſecretary of ſtate, forged all thoſe writings, which he put the laſt hand to. Monſieur the admiral * received the aſſiſtance it gave him as if it came from heaven. He brought to be regiſtered in the parliament letters patents for duke and peer for the lordſhip of Damville in as good, and perhaps better form than they would have had if Henry IV. had been living. 1610.

I find a ſecond letter from the queen regent of the ſame date with the former, but it was on a ſubject of leſs importance. It related to a breach which was to be repaired in the fortifications lately raiſed before the city and caſtle of Vendôme, at the deſire of the ſieur Jumeaux, who was governor of it.

It would have been very difficult, expoſed as I was to frequent quarrels with the miniſters and nobles, to have avoided one with the duke of Bouillon, who on all occaſions gave me proofs that he had not forgot or pardoned my having always preferred the king's intereſt to his, and who only waited for ſome opportunity to ſhew his reſentment of it. He one day propoſed in the council, that all thoſe who were in poſſeſſion of the chief offices and employments in the kingdom, ſhould be required to give in accounts of receipt and expence, to be examined there. The council received this propoſal in the ſame ſpirit with him that made it; for, general as it ſeemed, yet it was levelled at me alone; and Bouillon undertook to give me notice of it, by ſaying to me, in full council likewiſe, that, being a man who loved method and exactneſs, and who

* Charles de Montmorency, duke of Damville.

1610. was always desirous of setting others a good example, he did not doubt, but that I would begin, by laying before the council those accounts that related to my post of grand master of the ordnance. I replied, in an accent and manner which possibly he did not expect, that whenever the king and queen were pleased to require it, I would lay my accounts before them, and with so much the more willingness, as I was well assured they would find nothing in them but what would be to their satisfaction, and my honour: that, in a minority, the princes of the blood represented the king's person likewise, therefore I would give them the same satisfaction; but that I was too well acquainted with the extent of the rights and privileges of my employment, not to know that, to make it accountable to any other tribunal, was to debase it. "Monsieur, replied the duke, it appears to me that the constable and "the marshals of France having a right to take cognizance of all af-"fairs of the army, as they fall immediately under their inspection by "the nature of their offices, so they may likewise of all posts and em-"ployments relating to it; and yours is one of the chief of that kind." "I see plainly, Monsieur," returned I, without endeavouring to conceal my resentment at this procedure, "that you have long designed "me this affront, and that you are artfully seeking to support yourself "with M. the constable, whose quality, merit, and years, I honour "and esteem, and for whose friendship I am greatly obliged. I do "not apprehend that any dispute will arise between him and I upon "this matter; but as for you, and all the others, I declare that I do "not think myself accountable to you in what regards my office, but "to the king alone." "At least, Monsieur, replied the duke of Bou-"illon, you must acknowledge, that, your patent being directed to us, "it implies that we have some degree of authority there." "Monsi-"eur, said I, you have either read it very slightly, or but ill understood "what you read, since, if what you assert be true, I am likewise ac-"countable to the mayors, the sheriffs, and the captains of the city-"gates, in what regards my employments, since the patent is directed "to them as well as to the marshals and governors of France; but, if "you are really ignorant why those clauses are inserted, now know "from me, that it is in order that I may be assisted by all those persons "in whatever I require of them, which carries rather an idea of su-"periority than the contrary."

The queen, who found that the dispute was growing warm, and that it might produce a quarrel between us, imposed silence upon us both, and brought another question upon the carpet. Bouillon's flattery to

to the conſtable miſſed of the effect he propoſed by it; for I was as much beloved by that nobleman for the ſervices I had done him in ſome very difficult circumſtances, as Bouillon, who had drawn him into thoſe circumſtances, was diſliked by him. When the council broke up, he told the queen in Bouillon's preſence, that his claim was ill founded; then, addreſſing himſelf to the duke, he entreated him not to make any more attempts to engage him in his perſonal reſentments and ſchemes of revenge. This quarrel made a great noiſe at court, becauſe the friends of each party thought it incumbent upon them to engage in it. It was not here as in the council: my party was now greatly ſuperior to his. The families of Guiſe, Longueville, and many others, declared themſelves openly for me. 1610.

Nor did Conchini and his wife continue long to be in good intelligence with the miniſters and the other chief perſons of the ſtate. It is the fate of connections, produced by a ſpirit of intereſt, that the ſame cauſe which gave them birth, deſtroys them with the greater facility. Hence followed a thouſand ſcandalous ſcenes: they came openly to reproaches and abuſes, which, from ſome remains of decency, ſhould have been ſtifled. As the whole court was actuated by the ſame ſpirit, it was ſoon filled with hatred, jealouſy, and faction; none but baſe or criminal methods were employed in diſputing for favours or in obtaining them; ſome old grudge or ſome new reſentment embittered every mind, and the bloodieſt cataſtrophes were often apprehended among perſons of the higheſt rank: it became neceſſary to watch them continually, to prevent the fatal effects of their quarrels. The public was not ignorant of the motives which animated one againſt the other, all the princes of the blood, the conſtable, the maſter of the horſe, the duke of Epernon, and many more. In theſe diſſenſions Conchini had always the greateſt part*; ſometimes, while the ballance was held between theſe illuſtrious rivals, the favours they diſputed for fell into the hands of mean inconſiderable perſons. Diſcord, confuſion, injuſtice, and fraud, all the evils which follow the contempt of ſubordination, poured in like a deluge upon the court and council, and more than once revenged the inſulted memory of Henry the Great upon his domeſtic enemies, by thoſe very means which they had made choice of to revenge themſelves.

* See the detail of theſe intrigues and court-quarrels in Siri, Vol. II. p. 327, and in the ſame hiſtorians.

1610. There was not any of the European powers who did not, by their ambaſſadors, acquit themſelves of what they owed to this great king: but it was eaſy to diſtinguiſh among them, thoſe who were more ſincere in their compliments of congratulation for the acceſſion of the new king to the throne, than in thoſe of condolance for the loſs of him whom he ſucceeded. There were found Frenchmen baſe enough to ſay to the ambaſſadors from the king of Spain and the archduke, theſe very words: "Your tears need not wet your handkerchiefs much; it was a "ſtroke of providence that ſaved the king and the catholic religion "from ruin." I ſhall ſay nothing of the reception that was given to theſe ambaſſadors.

My heart was too much removed from every ſenſation of joy, to allow me to have any part in the ceremony of the king's coronation †; therefore, while every other took the road to Rheims, I ſet out for Montrond, after having obtained the queen's permiſſion to go to one of my country-houſes. I carefully concealed my deſign of not returning again to Paris, at leaſt while I ſaw the ſame diſpoſitions among the courtiers, and the ſame diſorder in affairs: but I had really taken this reſolution, which was confirmed by my being attacked with a violent illneſs immediately after I arrived at Montrond, and which I could attribute to no other cauſe, but to the painful ſituation my heart had been in for four months. It was here alſo, that, to calm the perturbations of my mind, I compoſed thoſe two little pieces of poetry; one of which is entituled, A Parallel between Cæſar and Henry the Great, and the other, An Adieu to the court ‡.

If this adieu was not the laſt, it was not my fault: I ſaw very plainly that I could not remain there. The ſecret council held at the houſe of the nuncio, which I have already mentioned, was continually recurring to my mind. To this I added ſome words which a princeſs, my relation and my friend, told me ſhe had heard ſaid to the queen at the ſame time. Many other circumſtances of this nature filled my mind with the ſtrongeſt forebodings that the whole proteſtant church was at the eve of a perſecution. By a letter which Préaux wrote to me from

† The ceremony is very minutely deſcribed in the Merc. Franc. the Royal MSS. P. Matthieu, &c. anno 1610. It was performed the 17th of October.

‡ Theſe pieces are recited in Sully's Memoirs, at the end of the firſt volume, p. 469.

Châtelleraut,

Châtelleraut, dated November 10, he seemed to be of the same opinion; "Already, says he, I fancy I see the theatre raised to renew our "tragedies." With this melancholy expectation, my resolution was already settled, to dispose of all my employments to those persons who should be recommended to me by Conchini and his wife, as money seemed to be cheapest with them. I intended to send one third of the sums raised by these sales to Switzerland, another to Venice, and another to Holland, where I proposed to retire myself, when the storm appeared ready to break out, with all the money that by good œconomy I had saved out of my yearly revenue. Thus had I regulated my affairs; and that I made any alteration in this plan, was owing to the following circumstance. 1610.

That jealousy and misunderstanding which subsisted among the nobles and persons in office, rendered the ceremony of the coronation so tumultuous and disorderly, that it was expected some dangerous consequences would follow. I do not speak here of their disputes for rank and precedence only. The duke of Epernon, although for some years past, as it appeared, intimately connected with Conchini, yet one day, in concert with the duke of Eguillon, used language to him equally severe, injurious, and threatening, and this in public. The duke of Nevers, supported by the princes of the blood, treated Villeroi, Sillery, and Jeannin, in the same manner: they were seized with consternation and fear; they found that they had not power, and, doubtless, felt they were not innocent enough to repel these reproaches; and now began to be sensible of the need they had of me. It might have dangerous consequences, if the princes and nobles were suffered to go on in reproving the ministers of state. I appeared to them to be the only man capable of putting things upon another footing, by the authority, the respect, and even the awe, which my birth, my character, and my manners, had acquired me in the council; and they so earnestly solicited the queen to make use of her influence over me, to oblige me to return, that she sent me, by an express, the following letter.

"Cousin,

"The coronation of the king, monsieur my son, being happily performed at Rheims, we shall, in a short time, set out for Paris; and "because many affairs that require your presence, on account of your "employments, and the great abilities you have shewn in the exercise "of them, will be transacted the latter end of this year, and the beginning of the next, I desire you will return to Paris with all pos-

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1610. "ſible haſte, that we may find you there upon our arrival. So, in full "aſſurance that you will not fail, I beſeech God, &c. Written at "Rheims, October 6, 1610.

"Your good couſin,

"MARY."

I IMAGINED, that by eluding this journey for the preſent, they would think no more of it; therefore my anſwer to the queen was conceived in theſe terms:

"MADAM,

"MY inclination, my duty, and the honour you do me, by remem- "bering me, are all motives equally ſtrong to engage my obedience "to your majeſty's commands; but a dangerous illneſs, from which "I am but lately recovered, has left me in ſo weak a condition, and "the certain knowledge I have, that my preſence in the council "is not agreeable to ſeveral perſons, who have more authority there "than I have, oblige me moſt humbly to intreat you, not to be of- "fended that I delay going to court till I have recovered my ſtrength; "and that when I do attend your majeſty there, you will permit me, "before thoſe perſons whom you ſhall pleaſe to appoint, to give you "an account of my adminiſtration, to lay before you the ſtate in which "I leave the affairs of the kingdom, and the form I think neceſſary "to be obſerved to keep them in the ſame order and tranquillity they "are now. I muſt beg your majeſty to believe that this will be "the ſole end of my journey, and that I have no intention or deſire to "concern myſelf any farther in the adminiſtration of affairs. I believe "I have ſettled every thing relating to my employments in ſuch a "manner, as the ſecretaries of the Exchequer and the other officers "can certify to your majeſty, that my preſence may be diſpenſed with "till the latter end of the year; at which time, if my health will per- "mit me, I ſhall not fail to go to Paris, to pay all poſſible obedience "to the king's commands and yours; and upon this truth, I beſeech "the Creator, &c. From Montrond, October 12, 1610."

THIS was not what the queen propoſed to herſelf from the ſtep ſhe had taken to recal me; ſhe perceived, that by delaying my return to court, I was only forming excuſes for appearing there no more; or that if I did come, the part I ſhould play there would not be very proper to oblige thoſe who had deſerted her favourite, again to ſolicit his friend- ſhip, which was all ſhe had in view; and to effect this, ſhe made uſe

of

of all my friends*, my wife, my ſon, and my ſon-in-law particularly: ſhe began by an inſinuating and gracious behaviour to them; ſhewed ſuch an unreſerved confidence in me, added ſo many kind expreſſions, and promiſes ſo flattering to their hopes, that they were now more than ever confirmed in their belief, that I ſhould commit a great error by laying down my employments. She afterwards ſent them, one after the other, to me, charged with the moſt obliging letters, and the fulleſt aſſurances of her favour and eſteem. I endeavoured, but in vain, to make them ſenſible, that all this was deep art on the queen's ſide; their ſolicitations, their intreaties, became perſecution, which at length fatigued me ſo much, that being deſirous of avoiding reproaches, to which I ſaw no end, and conſidering likewiſe that my compliance with requeſts thus earneſtly urged, would expoſe me to no inconveniences for the preſent, I reſolved to throw myſelf, though fairly warned of my danger, into all the ſnares that were laid for me at court, and again poſtponed the execution of my firſt deſign. 1610.

I THEREFORE ſet forwards to Paris, but ſhewed no great eagerneſs to get there, ſince I did not reach that city till the ſixteenth day after my departure from Montrond. The next morning, as I was preparing to go and pay my reſpects to the king and the queen regent, I was informed, that the king would paſs the whole forenoon in the Tuilleries, and that the queen was to dine at Zamet's. I did not doubt but that my attending her there would be very acceptable to her; and indeed ſhe received me in the moſt gracious manner imaginable: ſhe ſeveral times repeated, with an air of freedom and even pleaſure, by which I myſelf was almoſt impoſed upon, that ſhe would follow no other counſels but mine. She entreated me to attach myſelf to her ſon, as I had done to the late king: ſhe told me, that ſhe would not ſuffer me to lay down my employments; that ſhe would take ſuch meaſures, that I ſhould execute them in an abſolute independence; and deſired me to begin with the accounts of the finances for the year 1611, as I uſed to do; none of the miniſters having ſhown themſelves willing to take this care upon them during my abſence, and ſhe herſelf being deſirous that I ſhould continue to diſcharge it. The queen continued her diſcourſe till dinner was ſerved: I can relate only a ſmall part of it. When ſhe roſe from table, ſhe entertained me with the diſputes that had happened during

* "Bouillon had orders to go to him (M. de Sully) at Paris, on his return from his country-ſeat, and to aſſure him of the queen's regard for him, and that ſhe would place the ſame confidence in him the late king had. He accepted the queen's offer, &c." Hiſt de la Mere et du Fils, vol I. p. 112.

the

1610. the coronation: ſhe informed me, that the nobles had made an infinite number of demands, but that ſhe had reſolved to conclude nothing till my return: however, ſhe avoided ſaying any thing particular on this head, but only told me, that ſhe would talk to me more fully the firſt opportunity, and would let me know what were the ſervices ſhe required of me on this occaſion: theſe words ſeemed wholly free from reſerve. The whole court appeared ſo gay, that it was but too probable this ſerious converſation was extremely diſagreeable; accordingly it gave place to others more common; and at three o'clock the queen returned to the Louvre.

I went thither the next day, to pay my reſpects to the king, to the princes his brothers, and the princeſſes his ſiſters. This part of the court was ſtill untainted; the governeſſes, the nurſes, the other women and officers, which compoſed the houſhold of theſe young princes, formed a kind of ſeparate people, to whom the memory of king Henry was ſtill dear: the ſource of their tears and lamentations were not yet dried up; I wept with them, while we talked of that good prince; they conjured me, by every motive which they thought could make any impreſſion upon my mind, by the friendſhip Henry had for me, by my attachment to him, not to abandon the children of a father to whom I had now no other way of acquitting myſelf of what I owed him. Their intreaties and their tenderneſs could add nothing to thoſe ſentiments of gratitude and affection which filled my heart, and, to our mutual misfortune, could not increaſe my power of ſerving them. Upon my attentively viewing the three princes, I thought I diſcovered in the countenance and behaviour of the young king, ſtrong indications of thoſe happy diſpoſitions which time has ſince ripened and diſcloſed. I imparted my thoughts to my wife when I returned home; but it was with grief that I judged, heaven would not give a long life to the ſecond of theſe princes.

I was viſited by almoſt the whole court, with all thoſe falſe ſhews of friendſhip, thoſe praiſes and civilities, which never ſo nearly reſemble the true, as when the heart has the leaſt ſhare in them. Conchini, who had taken care to have it inſinuated to me by Zamet and D'Argouges,

* This prince died the 16th or 17th of November in the next year, at the age of four years and an half: a quantity of water was found in his head; the too great thickneſs of the ſkull ſtopping the perſpiration in that part; which proved the innocence of Le-Maitre, phyſician to the children of France, who was accuſed of having poiſoned this young prince. Merc. Franç. ann. 1611, p. 158.

that

that he was the perſon to whom I was moſt obliged for the gracious reception I had met with from the queen, and for her kind intentions towards me, waited three whole days in expectation that I ſhould acknowledge this favour, by making him a complimentary viſit; which the courtiers had accuſtomed him to look upon as a tribute due to his great influence and authority; or that I ſhould at leaſt ſend ſome perſon to diſcharge this duty for me. However, as he neither ſaw me, nor received any meſſage from me, he condeſcended at length to make me a viſit: but that I might not aſſume too much upon a ſtep by which he conceived that he degraded himſelf, he was very careful to make me ſenſible that he came only upon his own buſineſs: and indeed our converſation turned chiefly upon his poſt of firſt gentleman of the bedchamber; upon his penſions, which the queen had ordered ſhould be carried to account in the ſame manner as thoſe of Bellegarde; and upon a gift which he had lately received out of the offices of the gabelle in Languedoc, for which he had obtained a brevet before the late king's death; but this I did not think proper to mention to him. I thought my anſwers to all this were not calculated to inſpire him with any inclination to quit the ſubject he was upon, and for which he ſaid he had come to me; yet he could not help it: but I believe it was not long before he repented it, for having ſlided in, by way of advice, that the beſt thing I could do, would be to comply with the queen in all things, and accommodate myſelf wholly to her will (which was tacitly charging me with ruining my own affairs by my obſtinacy), I made him this ſhort and ſevere anſwer, That I would pay an exact obedience to all the commands of the queen regent, when they were for the ſervice of the king, the advantage of affairs, and the relief of the people; and when my honour and my conſcience told me I might do it, without prejudicing either. Every word he uttered ſeemed to increaſe the averſion I had to him; he added ſomething more, but with that caution which my behaviour to him ſeemed to authoriſe. I anſwered with equal coldneſs and reſerve, and we parted very ill ſatisfied with each other; he, I believe, with fewer hopes than ever of moulding me to his purpoſe; and I full of grief at the advancement of thoſe misfortunes which this preſumptuous inſatiable man, without abilities, without experience, yet inveſted with an abſolute authority, was bringing upon France. 1610.

It appeared to me, from the day after this converſation, that things were greatly altered: the queen, whom I went to wait upon at the Louvre, ſeemed to have loſt much of her former graciouſneſs; yet ſhe conſtrained herſelf to preſerve ſome appearance of it, that the

1610. alteration might not be too remarkable, and to hinder me from imputing it to the converſation I had the day before with Conchini: ſhe again mentioned to me the importunate demands of the grandees, taxed them with extravagance, and ſeemed reſolved to refer them to the council; at which ſhe deſired I would always be preſent, to take care that nothing paſſed there contrary to the intereſt of the king and the ſtate. She promiſed me, upon her royal word, preſenting her hand at the ſame time to me, that ſhe would ſupport me there as ſtrenuouſly as the late king had done. I loſt all my ſuſpicions at this declaration; I flattered myſelf for a moment that this princeſs, having ſeriouſly reflected on all that had lately happened, was become ſenſible of the danger of purſuing thoſe meaſures they wanted to engage her in; but I was ſoon undeceived.

Prepared as I was for irregular proceedings, I could not, without extreme ſurprize, ſee, that ſcarcely any buſineſs was tranſacted in the council, but what related to gifts to the nobles, to augmentations of the penſions to perſons in office, the paying of debts which had been aboliſhed, the abatement of farms, and diſcharges of the farmers, and revocations of the contracts made for the rents, regiſtries, and domains; creations of new offices, exemptions, and privileges; in a word, a thouſand ſchemes to render the people miſerable, inſtead of applying the treaſures amaſſed by the late king to their relief, as in juſtice ought to have been done; ſince the circumſtances of affairs were ſo changed, that the deſign for which they were raiſed could not be executed: but the rapaciouſneſs of the great lords would have ſwallowed ſums far more conſiderable. Here follow the demands, which the chief amongſt them endeavoured to oblige the queen and the council to grant them. It muſt not be expected here, that this article can extend itſelf into a liſt, as I am afraid the other will appear, though I have cut off the demand of trebling and doubling the penſions, as a matter common to almoſt all the articles.

At the head of this liſt I ſhall put M. the prince, who cauſed me to be ſolicited ſometimes openly, ſometimes in a covert manner, to ſupport his pretenſions to the government of Château-Trompette, to that of Blaye, and to the principality of Orange, extended as far as the borders of the Rhone. The count of Soiſſons demanded the government of the old palace of Rouen, that of the caſtle of Caën, and that an edict on linen cloth ſhould be created for his profit, which I have mentioned in its place. The duke of Lorrain demanded the payment

of

of the whole ſum expreſſed in his treaty, although I had ſettled this affair a long time ago, when it was agreed that that ſum ſhould be reduced two thirds. The duke of Guiſe ſolicited for a marriage between himſelf and madame de Montpenſier; for the revocation of the rights of patents in Provence, and of offices for collecting the duties at the gates of Marſeilles; he demanded likewiſe that his debts ſhould be paid. The duke of Maine demanded other ſums, beſides thoſe expreſſed in his treaty. D'Eguillon, a gift of thirty thouſand crowns; the government of Breſſe, and the city of Bourg; and the embaſſy of Spain with exceſſive appointments. Joinville, the government of Auvergne, or the firſt that became vacant. The duke of Nevers demanded the property of the gabelles of Réthelois, with the governments of Mézieres and Saint-Menchout. The duke of Epernon, a body of infantry kept conſtantly on foot; the reverſion of his government for his ſon; fortifications to be raiſed at Angoulême and at Xaintes; Metz, and the county of Meſſin, taken from Montigny. The duke of Bouillon demanded a ſum of money, for the payment of old debts, which he pretended were due to him; the aids, tailles, and gabelles, of the viſcounty of Turenne, to his uſe; and that the homage of this viſcounty ſhould be reduced to a ſimple homage; the arrears of his garriſons and his penſions during his exile; the right of holding general aſſemblies of the reformed religion. The chancellor demanded the money ariſing from the petty ſeals, his ſalary to be doubled, and letters of nobility in Normandy. Villeroi demanded, that a garriſon ſhould be maintained at Lyons, the royal lieutenancy of the province taken from Saint-Chaumont; a marſhal's ſtaff for his ſon d'Alincourt, the repeal of a bargain which I had made for the re-purchaſe of the crown lands in that province, and the mortgages of his regiſtries and upon the king's lands. 1610.

It will be eaſily imagined that Conchini's demands were not leſs conſiderable than thoſe of any other; a marſhal's ſtaff, the governments of Bourg, Dieppe, and Pont-de-l'arche; a donation of the money produced by the offices of the gabelle of Languedoc, paſſed in the form of a comptant; the profit ariſing from the reduction made upon public works, granted to Moiſſet and to Feydeau: this was his portion. Châteauvieux, the chevalier de Sillery, Dollé, Déagent, Arnaud the intendant, Duret the phyſician, all the members of the queen's private council, who ſolicited ſo well for others, did not forget their own affairs. It would be almoſt the ſame thing to enumerate all thoſe perſons of any quality who had a ſhare in this profuſe diſtribution of penſions, gratuities, privileges, appointments, &c. as to name thoſe who

1610. were comprehended in this liſt, for every one had ſome claim there; the princes, governors of provinces, the lieutenant-civil, the prêvot des marchands, and even the ſocieties and ſovereign courts; all the officers of the crown were to have their penſions augmented twenty-four thouſand livres each; and the ſalaries of every member of the council raiſed in proportion, and their number to be conſiderably increaſed. In a word, there ſeemed to be a general conſpiracy to pillage the royal treaſure, which was now conſidered as a lawful prize.

The indignation which I felt in myſelf againſt a licentiouſneſs that degenerated into an attempt upon the royal authority, would not permit me to examine whether the reſolution I had taken, ſingly to oppoſe this multitude of rapacious courtiers, was abſolutely prudent; but this nothing could perſuade me from doing, while the place I held in the council authoriſed ſuch a conduct. My honour, my conſcience, my reputation, which I was called upon to ſupport; the intereſt of the king and the people, whoſe only defender I conſidered myſelf; would not permit me to attend to my own ſafety: the laſt words, nay, the intreaties of the queen regent, gave me a right to oppoſe them; and tho' I was very ſenſible that ſhe did not deſire I ſhould underſtand them literally, yet, all things conſidered, I was going to render her a ſervice ſo eſſential, that ſhe could not, or ought not to diſavow it: and yet I had another motive, which I will not ſcruple to declare, ſince I would have my moſt ſecret ſentiments known to the reader. That deſire of glory, ſelf-love, which, when under the direction of reaſon and juſtice, has always appeared to me to have ſomething great and noble in it; ſelf-love, I ſay, dictated to me, that ſince, ſooner or later, I muſt neceſſarily be removed from the miniſtry, I ſhould riſk but little by haſtening the moment of my diſmiſſion; and that I ſhould gain a great deal by giving a convincing proof, that this diſgrace would not have happened to me, had I not oppoſed the unjuſtifiable meaſures I ſaw purſued by the council, and diſdained the ſervile compliance of the reſt of the courtiers: there remains to unhappy virtue this laſt recompence for the diſappointment of its good deſigns, that it ſhines with redoubled ſplendor amidſt oppoſition and perſecution.

The queen ſoon left me only this conſolation in the painful labours I began to ſuſtain; all her conduct ſerved to ſhew me, that ſhe had only recalled me to Paris, and oppoſed me to the whole court at this tumultuous time, to reduce me to the fatal alternative of incurring the public contempt if I betrayed my duty, or particular enemies (which was

was ſtill more to be dreaded) if I diſcharged it. A demand, which I had rendered of no effect in full council, at the riſk of making myſelf a thouſand cruel and implacable enemies, was afterwards privately granted as a gratuity by this princeſs and her confidant. 1610.

It is not my deſign to give a detail of all the ſchemes that, during this ſhort time, were ſet on foot in the council, nor of what was ſaid or done to render them ineffectual; it would be, in reality, to deſcribe ſo many ſuits, where, as in law, they did not fail to make uſe of all the methods commonly practiſed to corrupt a judge too rigidly juſt, and againſt which I was ſo much the more incited to exclaim, as they attempted likewiſe to carry their point, either by ſecret plots or by open cabals. I ſhall give the reader one example, which will ſerve to ſhew, that the evil was great enough to demand remedies no leſs violent than thoſe I made uſe of. The article relating to Villeroi, or rather to d'Alincourt, is not the leaſt curious or important of thoſe which the reader has already had ſome account of.

When d'Alincourt demanded, that a ſtrong garriſon ſhould be placed in the city of Lyons, of which he was governor, and maintained at the king's expence, he had two ends to anſwer by it; one was, to increaſe his income, by the profits ariſing from this garriſon: for indeed he had occaſion for great riches, to enable him to live as he propoſed to do, not merely as a marſhal of France (a dignity which he expected to be raiſed to in a very little time) but with the ſtate and retinue of a prince: vain pageantry and doubly ridiculous, in one who had only large poſſeſſions to ſupply the diſadvantages of a mean birth *.

* Rymer's Fœdera, ann. 1518, in reciting the diſpatches or inſtructions for the ſolemn embaſſy from Henry VIII. to Francis I. give the titles of knight, lord of Villeroi, &c. to Nicholas de Neufville, great-grandfather of the ſecretary of ſtate, and one of thoſe ambaſſadors extraordinary. Sauval, in his Antiquities of Paris, vol. III. p. 612. recites letters patent, dated at Cognac, in February, 1519, wherein Francis I. ſtiles him, our well-beloved and faithful counſeller, Nicholas de Neufville, knight, lord of Villeroi, &c. The dedication of Clement Marot, of his poem, intituled, *Le Temple de Cupidon*, is addreſſed to him, by the title of, Meſſire Nicholas de Neufville, knight, &c. this dedication, which had been ſuppreſſed in moſt even of the old editions of the works of that poet, has been reſtored in the edition of 1731, printed at the Hague. Lord Herbert, in the life of Henry VIII. makes honourable mention of this Nicholas de Neufville. Baluze, in his accounts, N°. 175, 176, ſpeaking of the accounts of M. de Villeroi, ambaſſador in England, adds the title of grand-audiencier in France. The liſt of the officers of the dukes of Burgundy, p. 233. mentions one Nicholas de Neufville, as cutler; and Amblart de Neufville, as clerk of the kitchen. The Ducatiana, p. 107. makes mention of Nicholas de Neufville, lord

The

1610. The other was, to compel the Lyonnois, by the terror with which ſo many forces would inſpire them, to ſacrifice to him their moſt ancient rights and privileges, which for a long time he had a deſign to fall upon. As for the treaty made for the redemption of the royal domain, which in that province amounted to twelve hundred thouſand livres, he was inclined to demand the ſuppreſſion of it, becauſe thoſe that were concerned in that affair ſecured to him a preſent of an hundred thouſand livres, if he could by any means hinder that redemption from taking place.

His deſigns, however, were croſſed by two vigilant enemies, theſe were, the whole city of Lyons, and Saint-Chaumont, the king's lieutenant in that province; but to theſe he oppoſed the chancellor Sillery, and Villeroi his father, both very powerful in the council, and in high favour with the queen; theſe he ſet on to ſolicit for him, and with the more eagerneſs, becauſe he found by my diſcourſe, when he came to intreat me to be favourable to his pretenſions, that he could not depend upon me in the council, before whom theſe demands were to be laid; he ſaw plainly, that he would have occaſion for all his batteries; but he did not doubt of his ſucceſs, when he was informed that his father and Sillery had brought over Conchini to his party, who afterwards prevailed upon the queen to eſpouſe it likewiſe.

We were all aſſembled in the great cloſet, where a council was to be held upon this affair, when the queen came up and ſpoke to me in favour of d'Alincourt: I told her majeſty, with great frankneſs, that ſhe muſt not expect I would give my vote for a compliance with two ſuch unjuſt propoſals; that it was not reaſonable the king ſhould loſe twelve hundred thouſand livres, to put one hundred thouſand in the pocket of M. d'Alincourt; that this was to open the way for every one elſe to get the like treaties for redemption of the domain, and other parts of the royal revenue, which amounted to near fifty millions, revoked over all the kingdom: that I would as ſtrenuouſly oppoſe his other demand, although I knew it would be alledged, that the council had no right to take cogniſance of it, and that it was only laid before it to get the firſt authoriſed; that by theſe meaſures we

ambaſſador to Rome by Lewis XII. in 1500; and quotes, on this ſubject, the Life of Alexander VI. vol. II. p. 292. Theſe facts have eſcaped Morreri, and the greateſt part of our hiſtorians and genealogiſts, who, in other reſpects, have done that juſtice to the illuſtrious houſe of Villeroi, which the author of theſe Memoirs has refuſed to it.

were

were going to expose one of the chief cities of the kingdom, hitherto well affected and loyal, to the danger of violating their allegiance, merely to gratify an unreasonable request, since by the last treaty which I myself had concluded with cardinal Aldobrandin for the duke of Savoy, his majesty being to keep possession of Bresse, and of both the borders of the Rhone, Lyons was no longer a frontier city, and having no more neighbours to fear, had no farther occasion for a garrison in it. 1610.

The queen seemed to be satisfied with these reasons, and turned towards Villeroi, as if to make him approve of them likewise; but he was not so easily repulsed, he gave her reasons in answer to mine, some good and some bad; and when he came to the article of the garrison, he told her, that it was indeed true, the Spaniards and Savoyards were not such near neighbours of this city as formerly, therefore it was not against their attempts that it was necessary to secure the city of Lyons, since they were moreover upon the point of becoming our friends and allies, but that the true enemies to be feared were the huguenots, who being now in a better condition, had probably a greater inclination than ever to make an attempt upon that city: he named Lesdiguieres in particular, as one from whom most danger was to be apprehended.

Berengueville overheard what Villeroi said to the queen, and repeated every word to me: this confirmed to me the truth of what I had heard concerning the secret council held at the house of Ubaldini, the pope's nuncio. I saw with indignation, that the sole view of these gentlemen was to set the catholics and protestants in France at variance, as well as in all Europe. I was no less shocked at Villeroi's accusation of a man allied to my family, and rising up hastily, I went towards the queen, who was still listening to him, and told her, that I had forgot to forewarn her of a thing which I was as well assured of as if I had been a witness of it, and this was, that Villeroi, in his design of rendering her favourable to his son's pretensions, cared but little by what means this was brought about; and did not scruple to make the falsest and most malignant representations against the protestants, without even excepting one, whom a thousand great and good services ought to place out of the reach of suspicion; that his malice went so far as to treat them as enemies, whom France had more reason to fear than Spain itself; that if her majesty, judging Villeroi's arguments and mine to be of equal weight, should resolve to behold the protestants and the Spaniards in the same light, nothing remained for her to do (and I looked stedfastly upon him) but to exclude us both from the council.

1610. council. This was a ſevere ſtroke upon Villeroi; but this man, who had neither abilities to ſpeak in public, nor knew how to give his vote in the council, had not a ſingle word to ſay in anſwer to me; indeed his ſurprize, and the ſecret reproaches of his own conſcience, might well render him dumb upon this occaſion: all he did was to go to that part of the room where the chancellor and the duke of Epernon were conferring together; and the queen alſo, quitting her place without anſwering me, went to join the count of Soiſſons and marechal Briſſac, who were talking in private. I foreboded no good from theſe ſeveral connexions.

Nothing was done this day in d'Alincourt's affair, and I ſometimes flattered myſelf that the meaſures I had taken would hinder it from being reſumed; but it was only put off till his father and himſelf, the chancellor and his brother, by new cabals with Conchini and the counſellors, ſecured all the votes in their favour, even that of Bethune my brother, who came to me with an intention to make one effort more to ſoften me: he repreſented to me, that my oppoſition was in vain, and would have no other conſequence but to bring every body upon my back; that I ſhould have the mortification to ſee that my example would not be followed even by my neareſt relations. I replied, that I never expected any thing elſe from him, but that I was abſolutely determined to continue to the end faithful in the performance of my duty: and I kept my word, for in the firſt council that was held on this occaſion, ſeeing that the counſellor to whoſe charge it fell that day was ready to make his report, I aſked him haſtily, what was the buſineſs? he replied, that it related to ſome propoſals which were to be made concerning the domain in Lyonnois. I interrupted him, ſaying, that I was well aſſured d'Alincourt, who was moſt intereſted in that affair, had formed ſo ſtrong a party for him in the council, by the mediation of his friends and relations, that it was already reſolved on, even before it was laid before it; but that I proteſted againſt it, as being abſolutely contrary to his majeſty's intereſt; and that I deſired a certificate of my proteſtation from the clerk, to ſend it to the parliament to be regiſtered there, in order that this writing might one day ſerve to ſhew the king the bad conduct purſued by his council after the death of the king his predeceſſor *.

* This account perfectly agrees with what is ſaid in l'Hiſtoire de la Mere et du Fils: "The duke of Sully," ſays that hiſtorian, "continued to exerciſe his office "for a fortnight or three weeks after the "coronation was performed, at which "time the diſputes on account of the Swiſs "at Lyons, which I have ſpoke of before,

1610.

These laſt words, which, it muſt be granted, were very ſevere, had no other effect, than to ſuſpend, for a ſhort time, the deliberation they were preparing for. No one replied; a general conſternation ſeized all that were preſent; the chancellor alone, without ſhewing any emotion, ſaid to the councellor, "Lay other papers before us, and "let us proceed to affairs of a different kind; we ſhall find a time for "this when theſe heats and animoſities are over, as it generally hap-"pens in things that are moſt conteſted." The counſellor obeyed; the other matters were diſcuſſed; and d'Alincourt's demand, when it was next laid before the council, was granted without oppoſition: but this was not till I myſelf was baniſhed from the board; which happened in

"were renewed, becauſe Villeroi wanted "to have their pay charged on the general "receipts of that city. The duke of Sully "was ſo much out of temper on this ſcore, "that not content with maintaining, it "was unreaſonable to load the king with "ſo great an expence, when the inhabi-"tants of Lyons were ſufficient to keep "guard themſelves, as they had always "been uſed to do: he alſo treated the "chancellor, who ſided with Villeroi, "roughly, telling him, they were all a-"greed amongſt themſelves to ruin the "king's affairs. As this was an affront to "all theſe miniſters in common, they "joined their endeavours to ruin the duke, "the harſhneſs of whoſe temper was not "to be ſoftened." This writer afterwards relates the ſeveral ſteps that were taken to unite the miniſters with the count of Soiſſons, the marquis of Ancre, the marquis of Cœuvries, and others, againſt the duke of Sully. As this author is one of the duke of Sully's enemies, I quote him on purpoſe to confirm the truth of what the duke ſays, that he might have kept his poſts, if he would have joined in the meaſures of the new council; and that his perſeverance in the ſupport of juſtice, the public intereſt, and the late king's plan of government, was the cauſe of his diſgrace. All men of ſenſe have not, however, given the ſame judgment on his inflexibility with the author I am ſpeaking of, tho' all the enemies of that miniſter have agreed with him in it. In the appendix to the Merc. Franç. for the year 1610, p. 9. we find an entire diſcourſe on this ſubject, which juſtifies him in a manner extremely to his honour. The Memoirs de Villeroi, vol. III. p. 259. alſo ſpeaks of him in the following manner: "The change which the ſaid ſieur "de Sully made in the condition of "France, by retrieving her from a ſtate of "indigence, and rendering her rich and "opulent, by his œconomy and induſtry, "ſufficiently proves his abilities: his free "remonſtrances to the king, and his op-"poſition to all great men, diſcover his "probity; and his having been able to "ſtand his ground amongſt ſo many ene-"mies, without ſinking under his own ap-"prehenſions, or their threats, ſhews how "great were his prudence and courage; "even thoſe who envy him are compel-"led to own, that he alone is more uſeful "to the public, and has more knowledge "of buſineſs, than all the reſt together; "and provided he would abate a little of "his auſterity, he would be a ſervant "worthy of your majeſty. Tho' they "endeavour to keep him from having any "concern in the management of affairs, "yet that cannot ſtop him from freely "ſpeaking his ſentiments of the little re-"ſpect paid to the memory of the late "king, and of the ſmall deference ſhewn "to our young prince, &c." See alſo the manuſcript diſcourſe cited by us in the preface to this work.

1610. ſo ſhort a time afterwards, that it may be ſaid it was by this vigorous effort I finiſhed my career.

I had now no other part to take but to retire from court. I had given ſufficient proofs to all France, that it was not for want of the moſt ſtrenuous efforts on my ſide that the affairs of the ſtate were plunged into diſorder: it was become impoſſible for me to apply any remedy to the increaſing evil. This no one doubted of: I ſtruggled to no purpoſe; and all that I had for the price of my labours and my good intentions, was the hatred of thoſe perſons whoſe intereſt it would have been to ſecond them: Conchini employed his favour, the princes of the blood their authority, the other perſons in office their credit, only to render me odious. I ſaw nothing preparing for me for the future, but new mortifications and other troubles. All my actions, my words, nay my ſilence itſelf, witneſſed againſt perſons who were inwardly ſtruck with the injuſtice of theſe reproaches. My poſt of ſuperintendant of the finances was eagerly coveted by two princes of the blood, each of whom was made to hope that he ſhould gain it when I was driven from court. By ſtaying there too long, I expoſed myſelf to the danger of being violently diſpoſſeſſed of all my other employments. Thoſe of my friends, who were moſt ſincere, and beſt knew the plots that were forming againſt me, were continually giving me counſels which I was convinced deſerved to have more weight with me, than the ſolicitations of ſome of my relations, who were either carried away by a miſtaken tenderneſs for me, or a regard to their own intereſt. I therefore reſolved to defer no longer the reſignation of my two employments of ſuperintendant of the finances and governor of the Baſtile, which were the moſt panted after, as by them they could diſpoſe of the revenues and treaſures of the king, hoping to purchaſe by this ſacrifice, which might have ſtill ſome appearance of being voluntary, the confirmation of all my other dignities *, which it was not in the power of my enemies to deprive me of, eſpecially if I

* The duke of Sully at that time bore the following titles: Maximilian de Bethune, knight, duke of Sully, peer of France, ſovereign prince of Henrichemont and Boiſbelle, marquis of Roſni, count of Dourdan, lord of Orval, Montrond, and St. Amand, baron of Eſpineuil, Bruyeres-le-Chaſtel, Villebon, La-Chapelle, Novion, Baugy, and Bontin, chancellor to the king in all the councils, captain-lieutenant of two hundred gens d'armes under the queen's command, grand-maſter and captain-general of the artillery, ſurveyor general of France, ſuperintendant of the king's finances, fortifications, and buildings, governor, and the king's lieutenant-general of the provinces of Poitou, Châtelleraud, and Laudun, governor of Mante and Gergeau, and captain of the caſtle of the Baſtile.

took the precaution of removing for ever out of their ſight an object which could never fail of re-animating their hatred, by the effect of a jealouſy unavoidable, while I continued amongſt them; and, that I might do all at once, I fixed myſelf in a reſolution to quit the court, and Paris itſelf, at the ſame time that I reſigned all further ſhare in the adminiſtration of affairs. 1610.

I PREPARED to execute this deſign on the beginning of the year 1611*. The queen appeared deſirous of oppoſing it; but this was only for form's ſake. Here follows the letter ſhe wrote to me upon this occaſion.

" COUSIN,

" I hear, with concern, that you have taken a reſolution to diſ-
" charge yourſelf of the care of the king my ſon's affairs, particularly
" of thoſe relating to the finances, contrary to the hope I had conceiv-
" ed, that you would continue to perform the duties of that employ-
" ment as you did in the time of the late king my lord. I entreat you
" to think well of this deſign before you put it into execution, and let
" me know your laſt determination, that I may regulate mine upon
" it. So beſeeching God, &c."

Paris, Jan. 24, 1611.

MY anſwer to this letter being ſuch as the queen probably expected, ſhe ſent Bouillon to me two days afterwards with the brevets of diſ-

* Here follow ſeveral accounts of this event, very different one from the other: " The year 1611 was begun with the re-
" tirement of M. de Sully, who, at the
" inſtigation, and by the intrigues of the
" two princes of the blood, was drove
" from the management of affairs. The
" ſuperintendance of the finances, and the
" cuſtody of the king's treaſure, was ta-
" ken from him. The queen alſo took
" the Baſtile out of his hands, and gave
" the cuſtody thereof to M. de Château-
" neuf [it ſhould be Châteauvieux.] The
" finances were put under the direction of
" Meſſrs. de Châteauneuf, the preſident
" de Thou, and Jeannin: but the laſt
" was alſo made comptroller-general of
" the finances, which threw the ſole ma-
" nagement of them into his hands, to
" the excluſion of the other two, who
" aſſiſted only in the direction." Baſſom-pierre's Memoirs, vol. I. p. 308.

" The 24th of this month (January)
" M. de Sully quitted the arſenal. There
" is a report that a brevet is iſſued to ap-
" point him marſhal of France, with a
" grant of ſome thouſands of crowns as a
" recompence to him. He has voluntarily
" reſigned the direction of the finances,
" *tanquam è ſpecula prævidens tempeſtatem*
" *futuram.*" Journal de l'Etoile, page 256.

" The prince of Condé and the count
" of Soiſſons ſpoke the firſt of it to the

1610. charge from my two employments, of ſuperintendant of the finances and governor of the Baſtile, in the moſt authentic form, and, at the ſame time, moſt advantageous for me. Her majeſty in theſe brevets declared, that it was at my repeated ſolicitation ſhe had granted me leave to reſign theſe places; and that I ſhould not hereafter, upon any pretence whatever, be queſtioned concerning my conduct while I held them.

To theſe brevets was added another, dated January 27, by which her majeſty, in conſideration of the ſervices the late king had received from me during a long courſe of years, and of which ſhe made a moſt honourable mention, granted me a donation of three hundred thouſand livres, to be paid out of the royal treaſury, free from the duty of the fifth and tenth penny, and the duty given to the order of the Holy Ghoſt, from which his majeſty was deſirous I ſhould be exempted. The letters I received the following days from their majeſties, either contained orders to give up the caſtle of the Baſtile to the ſieur de Châteauvieux, whom they had made king's lieutenant of it, or acquittals for ſome jewels of the crown which I had delivered back into their hands, part of which conſiſted of a jewel called the Licorne, and ſome other rings and jewels, for which a promiſſory note of mine for ten thouſand livres was lodged with Puget, who now returned it me, and part of three large rubies, for which I had given my receipt to madame Le-

" queen, the miniſters ſeconded them, and " the marquis of Ancre gave him the " finiſhing ſtroke. Thus he found himſelf " under the neceſſity of retiring in the " beginning of February, &c." Hiſt. de la Mere & du Fils, vol. I. p. 235.

" Some have written that the duke of " Sully, ſhortly after the reconciliation of " the count of Soiſſons and the duke of " Guiſe, voluntarily reſigned into the " queen's hands, as well the Baſtile, as " the ſuperintendancy of the finances. " Others ſay, that making an offer to the " queen to give up all his poſts, he was " taken at his word: others have ſpoken " differently of it. He himſelf ſays the " contrary in the letter he wrote to the " queen, which was printed ſhortly after." Merc. Franç. anno 1611.

This letter is afterwards recited, but is not mentioned in Sully's Memoirs. The Memoirs of the regency of Mary de Medicis, vol. I. p. 57. diſſent alſo from the foregoing accounts, aſſerting that the duke of Sully earneſtly ſolicited the queen to diſmiſs him, which ſhe with great reluctance conſented to.

There may poſſibly be ſome truth in both theſe opinions: That is, that the duke of Sully would, out of queſtion, have freely conſented to keep his poſts, provided he could have enjoyed them with the ſame authority, tho' not with the ſame ſatisfaction, as under the late king: but the efforts he made for that purpoſe alienated the queen, the great men, and the miniſters from him, and at laſt increaſed his diſguſt, as he found all his endeavours would be in vain. There is nothing in Matthieu's account diſcordant with this notion: on the contrary, he agrees to what is ſaid in theſe Memoirs. " The duke of Sully, Grand,

Grand, when I took them out of her hands, where they were mortgaged. 1610.

I employed the remainder of the time I ſtaid in Paris in regulating my domeſtic affairs, in a detail of which the reader would find nothing to merit his attention, except probably the counſels I gave to my ſecretaries. I had generally ſix principal ones, as well for the buſineſs of my four chief offices of the crown, as for any extraordinary affairs I might have to tranſact with the court, and I found it neceſſary to have a great many other clerks or tranſcribers under them: but thoſe I ſhall mention here were my chief ſecretaries, whoſe abilities and exact diſcharge of their ſeveral duties, well deſerved that I ſhould give them a ſhare in affairs of importance, and my confidence in nice and delicate conjunctures; among theſe, the four brothers of the name of Arnaud were favoured in a particular manner by me. The eldeſt died while he was yet young, many years before the king was aſſaſſinated. I had ſo great a regard for the ſecond, that from being my ſecretary only, I procured him to be made counſellor of ſtate, and intendant of the finances: the third went into the army, and was made a colonel of a regiment of horſe: and to the laſt I gave the poſt of treaſurer of France, and that of overſeer of the highways. All my other ſecretaries were provided for in proportion. I believe I ſhall not be accuſed of having broken one of the laws of nature, which directs that the adherents to us, or perhaps we ſay more properly, to our places, ſhould not be diſappointed of thoſe rewards, which it is in our power to beſtow upon them according to their merit. Duret was preferred to be a treaſurer of France, preſident of the chamber of accounts, and comptrol-

" ſays he, after the death of Henry the " Great, immediately ſaw he ſhould not " poſſeſs the ſame authority under the new " reign as he did under the laſt; and that " the enmity of the count of Soiſſons " would bring on his ruin. As the direc- " tion of the finances had already been " taken from him, the queen was adviſed " to deprive him alſo of the Baſtile. This " was eſteemed ſo bold a ſtep, that it was " ſaid Henry the Great would not have " dared to have taken it for fear of ſtirring " up thoſe of the duke's religion to reſent " it. She, nevertheleſs, ſaw him readily " obey her commands to reſign the Baſtile " to Châteauvieux, one of the knights of " honour. Had he made any oppoſition, " ſome of the great men at court, who " were afraid his ſteadineſs might be drawn " into precedent, would have rendered " this diſmiſſion more difficult. As ſoon " as he was ſtript of this office, he ſaw " the prejudice reſulting from his having ſo " eaſily ſubmitted; and deſired the queen's " permiſſion to go to Roſny, ſaying he " would not ſtay there above three days. " When he was there thoſe of his religion " cautioned him not to go back to court, " where he had been ſo ill treated. His " wife and brother on the contrary urged " him to return, and he did ſo according- " ly; but thoſe who had been of the op-

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1610. ler-general of the finances; Renouard was made auditor of accounts; La-Clavelle overſeer of the bridges and cauſeways; Du-Maurier, who had quitted the duke of Bouillon's ſervice for mine, was employed in public affairs, to which his genius and inclination led him, and has been ſince ambaſſador to Holland; Murat was made treaſurer of the extraordinary of war; La-Font, whom I have often mentioned in theſe Memoirs, acquired the favour and confidence of the late king, who, among other benefits that he beſtowed upon him, made him overſeer of his furniture; Gillot was made ſecretary of the ordnance. All theſe men were truly ſenſible how much they were going to loſe by my retreat, and they omitted no ſort of entreaties or methods to prevail upon me to alter my reſolution. I will do moſt of them the juſtice to declare, that I believe, by acting thus, they thought they were ſerving my intereſt at leaſt as much as their own: but as for the two Arnauds, the eldeſt eſpecially, and two or three more, they were but little affected with my purpoſe. They would even have been grieved if I had altered my opinion; yet it was they who oppoſed it moſt. Arnaud the elder added, on this occaſion, hypocriſy to avarice and ingratitude: meanly as he thought of Jeannin's abilities for the office of ſuperintendant of the finances, for which he looked upon himſelf as much better qualified, he was one of thoſe who ſolicited Conchini moſt earneſtly to procure it for that miniſter, who he flattered himſelf would leave the chief management of it to him.

I PENETRATED into the inmoſt receſſes of their hearts: I diſcovered views and deſigns which they probably imagined were ſufficiently concealed; but I ſuppreſſed a reſentment unworthy of me; and, taking them aſide one after the other, I gave them ſuch advice as, from the preſent conjuncture of the times, and the knowledge I had of their diſpoſitions, was moſt likely to advance their fortunes: I told the elder

" poſite opinion withdrew themſelves from " him, eſteeming it a meanneſs in him not " to ſhew a greater reſentment for ſuch ill " uſage. The queen received him fa- " vourably; but the count of Soiſſons " cauſed him to be kept from having any " concern in buſineſs, which had been ſo " much under his immediate manage- " ment in the late king's reign. Seeing " himſelf thus fallen both from his credit " and employments, he went to Sully; " and not thinking himſelf in ſafety " enough there, he returned into the pro- " vince of Bourbon." This writer adds, that one of the principal motives which induced the proteſtants to endeavour to increaſe his diſcontent, was their deſire of having his great fortune engaged for the advantage of the common cauſe: but that he ſubmitted to the prudent advice given him by La-Vallée, the lieutenant-general of the artillery, who has been mentioned before, to keep himſelf quite retired, without having any concern in the quarrels which ſoon after happened. Ib. p. 22.

Arnaud,

Arnaud, that he had it in his power to make his court very ſucceſsfully to the queen, by the great number of excellent memoirs upon the moſt important affairs of the finances, which were lodged in his hands; and, that this ſacrifice might loſe no part of its merit, I adviſed him to offer it by madame de Conchini, ſeriouſly recommending it to him, at the ſame time, to devote himſelf faithfully to her ſervice: I adviſed his brother to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to obtain the favour of the chancellor, of Villeroi, Jeannin, and, above all, Conchini's, who was the only oracle which it was neceſſary for him to conſult in the exerciſe of his employment; and I deſired the colonel himſelf to make his court to thoſe very perſons. 1610.

Duret, beſides all thoſe, might apply himſelf to the commander * and to Dollé; and this I recommended to him to do. Da-Maurier needed only to be made known to Villeroi, by carefully cultivating his friendſhip, which I aſſured him would be ſufficient; and with the knowledge he had of foreign affairs, joined to the talents he poſſeſſed of ſpeaking well, and of writing ſtill better, he might eaſily obtain of the queen and the favourite, ſome honourable employment. To Murat, who was accountable for his conduct to the ſecretary of ſtate, I recommended my intereſts at court; but to diſcharge this truſt cautiouſly, and not without firſt aſking Villeroi's conſent. As for La-Clavelle, his ſubtle wit and proneneſs to flattery, ſecured him all poſſible ſucceſs with the miniſters, and even with d'Eſcures, who had more power than any body elſe to block up his way in the diſcharge of his office. La-Font's employment ſubjecting him wholly to the queen's will, or rather to Conchini's, he had but one path to follow, which I pointed out to him. The advice I gave to Renouard, was not to ſeek any other recommendation from his own court, excepting the importance which the force of his underſtanding might give him amongſt his aſſociates; and I deſired he would to this employment add that of taking care of my domeſtic affairs at Paris. Gillot I placed with my ſon, to ſuperintend the affairs of the ordnance; and, that every thing might be kept in the ſame order in which I had left it, I gave to my inferior ſecretaries and clerks ſuch advice as I thought moſt ſuitable to their humbler ſtation, and obliged thoſe who ſhewed moſt reluctance to comply with my meaſures, to confeſs at length, that, in what I had recommended to them, I had a particular view to that neceſſity which ſooner or later would force them to follow the rules I had preſcribed. This I accompanied

* Noel de Sillery, brother to the chancellor.

with

1610. with a compliment to each, and an obliging command to follow my directions, which had ſuch an appearance of ſincerity, that they yielded to my arguments; and they have not repented. I had no intention, however, to keep no more ſecretaries in my ſervice; but, being now out of place myſelf, I had no occaſion for men that were in, for this employment. I therefore took two new ſecretaries into my family, whoſe chief buſineſs, in a cabinet no longer occupied with the affairs of ſtate, was collecting and preparing theſe Memoirs for the public..

THIS done, and burying in eternal oblivion thoſe hopes, deſires, reſentments, and regrets, which any other in my ſituation might have formed, I bid a laſting adieu to the court, and with the ſame indifference as if it had not for ſo long a courſe of years been to me the theatre of glory, wealth, and happineſs *. I loſt at one ſtroke a king who was my benefactor and my ſupport, and with him my fortune, my friends, and my favour. This loſs generally brings along with it ſo many other mortifications, that, to thoſe who have ſuffered it, it appears but the leaſt part of their unhappineſs. If this additional ill fortune is always the effect of particular enmities, certainly no one was more expoſed to them than myſelf; yet hiſtory can furniſh but few examples of miniſters and favourites in diſgrace, who were as much honoured and reſpected in their fall as I was; for it ſometimes happens that public eſteem ſucceeds to particular favour in ſupporting thoſe who are unfortunate only, and when it does not form a counterweight ſtrong enough to incline the ballance to their ſide, it is becauſe theſe ſuppoſed oppreſſed perſons have always ſome weak place by which they may be attacked, and which they find it very difficult to defend. Acknowledged probity and innocence will always have the advantage over envy, even at the very time, when it ſeems moſt to triumph. My enemies

* "Though this blow was not given "him unawares, and though he ſaw it "coming at a diſtance, he was not able "to receive it with compoſure, nor even "without weakneſs. He ſubmitted, be-"cauſe he was compelled to it, but could "not forbear complaining; and when, by "the queen's order, he was reminded that "he had many times offered her to lay "down his employments, he anſwered, "He did it, not thinking he ſhould be ta-"ken at his word, &c." Hiſt. de la Mere & du Fils, ib. p. 131. This writer adds many other ſtories of M. de Sully equally ſpightful: but to the reaſons we have already given for not giving any great weight to his teſtimony, we may add, that he is the only one who ſpeaks of him in this manner.

"On Saturday, the 5th of February, "the duke of Sully left Paris, after re-"turning the grant he had received of "100,000 crowns. The ducheſs of Sully "blamed his haughtineſs and pride in do-"ing ſo." L'Etoile, ib. p. 257.

therefore

therefore (for I have a right to apply this maxim to myſelf) could ſatisfy but a ſmall part of their rage againſt me, becauſe the victory they had gained was one of thoſe ſhameful advantages which it is thought neceſſary to conceal, and which is not enjoyed wholly without remorſe; nor did the ſatisfaction my enemies felt for my diſgrace, hinder ſome true Frenchmen, who eagerly embraced every occaſion of ſhewing their reſpect for the memory of the late king, from honouring a man who expected no more than to ſet out on his exile in privacy and peace. I was attended at my leaving Paris by more than three hundred horſe. 1610.

It was not while I was preſent, and in a condition to defend myſelf, that I expected to ſee my enemies uſe their utmoſt efforts againſt me: envy is a paſſion whoſe characteriſtic is cowardice, no leſs than malice and detraction: I was always perſuaded that they would ſeize eagerly the advantages my abſence afforded them. In effect, a few days were ſcarce elapſed after my arrival at Sully, when the whole court was filled with reports which tended not only to give a bad impreſſion of my conduct in public affairs, but alſo to render me enough ſuſpected to afford them ſome pretence for commencing a proſecution againſt me, the ſhame and grief of which was all they deſired I ſhould ſuffer*. On this occaſion I took ſuch meaſures as I thought every wiſe man ought to take, which was to diſarm envy the moſt effectual way, by preventing, with frequent letters, the minds of their majeſties from being prejudiced to my diſadvantage.

In the firſt, which I addreſſed to the king and queen, I complained that bad deſigns were formed againſt me: I offered to juſtify my conduct by every method they could propoſe, and even, if neceſſary, by new ſervices: and, after giving their majeſties the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of obedience, fidelity, and innocence, I repreſented to them with ſome freedom, that, if they had been as well perſuaded of that innocence as they had given me room to believe, I ſhould have received proofs of it ere now, by the orders they would have been pleaſed to give for the performances of the ſeveral promiſes they had made me, with reſpect to my places, and to the gratuities which the king had granted me: that the firſt artifice practiſed by my enemies, had been to defer, and after-

* "He had no ſooner retired," ſays the Hiſtoire de la Mere & du Fils, p. 128, "but many prepared to purſue the victory "over him, in order to come in for a "ſhare of his ſpoils.---But the queen at "laſt, with great reaſon, changed her "meaſures, it not being held reaſonable to "treat with ill uſage a perſon whoſe ſervices "had been ſo advantageous to France, "without any other pretext, than that, "by his having been uſeful to the public, he "had at the ſame time been ſo to himſelf."

1610. wards to hinder, if they could, the effect of thoſe promiſes, which, being ſo many proofs of their majeſties good opinion of me, while they ſubſiſted, it was dangerous to attempt any thing againſt me; and it was for this reaſon that I was ſo ſolicitous for their being accompliſhed.

To this letter I received an anſwer from the queen ſuch as I could have wiſhed: She obſerved in it, that my paſt ſervices, and my preſent inclinations, were ſo well known to the king and to her, that it was not in the power of any perſon whatever to alter their ſentiments with reſpect to me: that hitherto ſhe had not perceived it had been attempted; but, if it ſhould, it would be to no purpoſe: ſhe aſſured me it was not owing to any ill will towards me, but to chance alone, that ſome little difficulties had been found in performing the agreements between his majeſty and me; but that they ſhould be obſerved with the utmoſt exactneſs. This letter is dated March 7, 1611.

It was not long before I ſent the queen another letter, of which I cannot diſpenſe with myſelf from giving the reader ſome account, becauſe what I there declared concerning the ſtate of my private affairs, was exactly conformable to the ſituation I found myſelf in upon my retiring from public buſineſs. I began with recalling to her remembrance the open profeſſion I had always made of attachment to her perſon, and the proofs I had given of it, as well before as ſince her marriage; and here I mentioned certain particular circumſtances, when I drew upon myſelf ſome reproaches from the late king for ſupporting her againſt him on occaſions, when I thought I was labouring equally for both their intereſts. This led me to an eulogium on the good qualities of the queen regent, on which I founded the opinion I was to appear in this letter to have entertained, that ſhe had no part in the perſecutions raiſed againſt me at court.

This article I treated at great length. It being that for which the letter was chiefly written, I gave the queen to underſtand that I was well informed of the diſadvantageous reports which were ſpread againſt me in court; of the obſtacles my enemies were inceſſantly raiſing to hinder me from ſettling peaceably my private affairs; and, in a word, of the perquiſites which their majeſties propoſed to allow me in the offices, of which I could not be deprived. I aſſumed a right from the good intentions which I ſuppoſed this princeſs had towards me, founded upon the repeated aſſurances ſhe had given me of her eſteem, to complain to her of thoſe perſons who rendered theſe intentions ineffectual. I

inſiſted

insisted particularly upon the favour and protection I had reason to expect from their majesties while I was making that disposition of my affairs, to which, for the sake of peace, I had sacrificed my interest, when it would have been so much the easier to have disputed the ground with my adversaries, as the motives by which they acted being almost generally known, I had every advantage over them which I could desire. I here laid down concisely the principal points of my management, and my share of that wealth with which, by my labours and œconomy, I had enriched the kingdom till the year 1610, when I saw all the measures I had taken to keep every thing in the same state of order and regularity at once overturned and destroyed; adding that time would shew whether the kingdom had most obligations to my enemies or to me. 1610.

I took this opportunity to obviate some of their most specious accusations: I represented to the queen the great folly and absurdity they were guilty of for exclaiming against me for the vast riches they said I had acquired during the course of my favour with the late king, when in their hearts they despised me for not making greater advantages of so fair an opportunity, and were fully resolved not to follow my example. The narrow bounds of a letter would not permit me to say all I could in my own justification: I only observed to the queen, that it was easy for me to prove that that wealth, which they imputed to me as a crime, I acquired either by frugality and œconomy, or by the bounty of a master too generous and too grateful to leave a minister unrewarded, who devoted himself with an assiduity, rarely seen in a superintendant, to continual labours for the public good*: that it was sufficient for me that all the gratuities I had received from my master only, which he laid his commands upon me to accept; and this I could prove as clearly as the use to which I had applied them, which was more, I believed, than those who were going to succeed me would be able to say at the close of their administration. I told the queen that I hoped I should not be charged either with vanity or malice, if I affirmed that the wrong they were now attempting to do me, was a real injury to the state: that I

* "He retired loaden with riches, which "the time he had been in the ministry "had enabled him to acquire.---It may be "said with great truth, that the first years "of his administration were very profitable to him; and if any should say the "last were no less so, it must be allowed "that, if they were advantageous to him, "they were greatly so to the public." Hist. de la Mere & du Fils, p. 128. One single proof from any enemy, such as the author of this History, will counterballance a thousand others.

1610. never desired to be continued in the direction of the finances, but for the king's advantage; and that having their majesties for judges of my actions, upon whose equity and goodness I relied to hinder my enemies from commencing a prosecution against me, the privacy I was going to enjoy would no longer appear dangerous to me; but, on the contrary, I should find it so much the more pleasing, as it began now to be suitable to my age, and would be interrupted with no reproaches, nor embittered by any remorse.

Towards the close of this letter, through which I had occasionally interspersed many offers of service, assurances of fidelity, and all those expressions of respect and obedience, which I thought I owed to the queen, I told her, that before I set out for my government, whither my affairs called me, I would give her notice of it, and receive her orders; and, if she thought I could be of any use to her in the assembly of the protestants, to which I was summoned, I would go thither with the same disposition and readiness to serve her as the late king my master. Such was the purport of this long letter, which the queen answered by another, dated April 24. It was conceived almost in the same terms as her former letter: she left me at liberty to go to Poitou, or to the assembly of the protestants, and to act there as I should judge proper, knowing better than any other (those were her words) how I could be most useful to the king in either of those places.

But what completely secured me against all reverses of fortune was, that her majesty being desirous to give a public proof of her esteem for me, and how little it was in the power of my enemies to hurt me, granted me an augmentation of my pension, for which the brevet was expedited in less than a month after the date of her last letter. This augmentation was twenty-four thousand livres; so that altogether my pensions at that time amounted to forty-eight thousand four hundred livres a year. It was expressed in the brevet, that this additional pension commenced on the 1st of January 1611, although it was dated the 20th of May; and that her majesty thought herself under an obligation to grant it to me, as well in acknowledgment for my past services, of which the most honourable mention was made, as to enable me to continue them for the future.

Notwithstanding this, I do not think myself dispensed with from proving that article of the foregoing letter, which regards my wealth. A superintendant of the finances, and any man to whom the

management of the kingdom's money has been entruſted, is account- 1610.
able to the public for all his actions; nor would I refuſe, if called upon, to lay before it my moſt ſecret thoughts, ſince it has been always my ſtudy to regulate them in ſuch a manner, that they would, if known, not only ſubject me to no cenſure, for this is an indiſpenſible obligation upon all men, but alſo that they might in ſome reſpect ſeem worthy to ſerve for a model to thoſe who, ſucceeding to my place, would have the ſame engagements to him. Happy if I could have reaſon to hope that this model would be effaced with one more perfect. I ſhall continue therefore to give the public ſuch an exact ſtate of my domeſtic affairs, following the method I began a few pages above, that any other perſon may be as well acquainted with them as I am myſelf. To ſpare my readers the trouble of collecting together at too great a diſtance the articles of a broken calculation, and that they may view the whole with one ſingle glance, I ſhall here lay before them all that has been ſaid on that ſubject in different parts of theſe Memoirs, beginning with a faithful account of my whole yearly revenue, according to the order of time when I was inveſted with thoſe offices, from whence the greateſt part of it aroſe *.

I WAS in the firſt place, while Henry the Great was yet but king of Navarre, preferred to the poſt of firſt gentleman of his bed-chamber, together with that of counſellor of Navarre: the ſalaries of both amounted to two thouſand livres a year. When he became king of France, he made me counſellor of ſtate, for which I had a like allowance, which, with a penſion of three thouſand ſix hundred livres, increaſed my income with the yearly ſum of five thouſand ſix hundred livres. My company of men at arms brought me in four thouſand livres a year. The king giving me afterwards two brevets, one for counſellor of parliament without ſalary, and the other for counſellor of the finances, three thouſand ſix hundred livres were on this occaſion added

* The following memoir is an unanſwerable refutation of a reflection caſt on the duke of Sully by the Hiſtoire de la Mere & du Fils, p. 130; and expreſſed in theſe words: "In fine, if, during his adminiſtration, he had managed the king's affairs well, he had not forgot to take care of his own. This appeared more evidently from his having come into office with only ſix thouſand livres a year, and going out with more than a hundred and fifty thouſand livres, which had obliged him to withdraw out of the exchequer the rent-roll and inventory of his eſtate and effects, which had been regiſtered there, when he came into the management of the finances, that it might not appear againſt him, under his own hand and ſeal, how much he had enriched himſelf out of the king's money."

to

1610. to my penſions. His majeſty having thought proper to fix the gratuities, penſions, gifts, &c. which he deſigned to beſtow upon me as ſuperintendant of the finances, to a certain ſum, which ſhould be comprehended all in one article, this ſum, which amounted to twenty thouſand crowns, increaſed my revenue with ten thouſand eight hundred livres a year more: add to this the produce of all my other dignities and employments; the office of grand-ſurveyor of the roads of France, and ſurveyor in particular of the Iſle of France, brought me in ten thouſand livres a year; that of great-maſter of the ordnance, comprehending the ſalary, profits, and penſions, annexed to it, twenty-four thouſand livres. I always placed under one article the ſums ariſing from the government of Poitou, the ſuperintendance of the buildings, that of the fortifications, ports, &c. which all together amounted to eighteen thouſand livres a year. The government of Mante and Gergeau brought me in twelve thouſand livres; the queen's company of gendarms, of which I was captain-lieutenant, five thouſand livres; and the government of the Baſtile two thouſand two hundred livres a year. All theſe articles put together make up the ſum of ninety-ſeven thouſand two hundred livres a year.

Each of theſe articles have been already mentioned in different parts of theſe Memoirs. What remains to be added to them are as follows: Forty-five thouſand livres in church benefices, which his holineſs was ſo well ſatisfied that I ſhould enjoy under the borrowed name of ſome eccleſiaſtics, that he generally expediated the bulls gratis, when he was told that the abbeys were for me. I loſt no part of this income, when it was decreed that the eccleſiaſtics ſhould withdraw all their benefices out of the hands of the proteſtants, becauſe by the pope's bulls, in which this regulation was expreſſed, the eccleſiaſtics on whom they were beſtowed, were to give the full value of them to the firſt poſſeſſor. My own lands and poſſeſſions compoſe a ſecond article, which I believe I eſtimate juſtly, by making them amount to ſixty thouſand livres a year. Theſe two laſt ſums, added to that of ninety-ſeven thouſand two hundred livres, make a total of two hundred and two thouſand two hundred livres a year.

I shall prevent the explanation which may be demanded of me, with reſpect to the article of twenty thouſand crowns in lands; and, in the firſt place, I deſire it may be remembered that there was a kind of agreement made between the king and myſelf in the year 1601, by which that prince, who did not think my labours in his ſervices ſufficiently

ently rewarded by my ordinary gratuities and penſions, and who likewiſe was apprehenſive as well as I that thoſe ſums, which his generoſity led him to give me in extraordinary preſents and gratuities, would produce bad conſequences hereafter, by that appearance of profuſion they might have, again ſettled his gifts and gratuities in a new ſum of ſixty thouſand livres a year, which was to take in all that I was to expect merely from his bounty. This donation was expedited by letters patents, that being known to the whole kingdom, I might not be one day ſubjected to any diſhonourable imputation on account of it. I enjoyed this extraordinary gratuity for eight years, which produced me the ſum of four hundred and twenty-four thouſand livres, which I laid out according to the king's deſire, in making acquiſitions in proportion. I made the ſame uſe of the ſum of five hundred and thirty thouſand livres ariſing from the following articles: From money which I have received, but which is ſubject to be repaid, two hundred thouſand livres, on the marriage of my ſon; a hundred thouſand livres which I received with my wife; a hundred thouſand paid me by La-Borde; as much by M. de Schomberg; and thirty thouſand which his majeſty gave me for my ſon d'Orval*. Theſe ſums, I ſay, which added to the above, make one million and ten thouſand livres, I laid out in the following manner: 1610.

I PURCHASED one half of the eſtate of Roſny with two hundred and ten thouſand livres; the eſtate of Dourdon, which I bought of Sancy, who held it of the Swiſs cantons, coſt me, beſide the money

* Francis de Bethune, the founder of the branch of the counts of Orval, was knight of the king's orders, maſter of the horſe to the queen, ſurveyor-general of France, ſuperintendant of the royal buildings, governor of St. Maixant, camp-maſter of the regiment of Picardy, lieutenant-general of the king's armies. After the death of Cæſar de Bethune, his brother of the whole blood, who died unmarried, the eſtates and lordſhips which the duke of Sully their father had ſettled on the children of his ſecond marriage (as we ſhall relate hereafter) became united in him. They were erected into a duchy and peerage, under the title of de Bethune, which was done in conſideration of his ſignal ſervices to the crown, and particularly in having raiſed, at his own expence, a conſiderable body of forces, both foot and horſe, at a time when the king ſtood in great need of them, to carry on the war, in which he was then engaged with the Spaniards, duke Charles of Lorrain, the prince of Condé, and others of his rebellious ſubjects. It is in theſe terms the letters patent for this purpoſe are expreſſed, which are dated at Melun in the month of June 1652. The duchy of Sully devolved on this branch of the family, in 1730, on the death of Maximilian, the fifth duke of Sully, in the perſon of Lewis Peter Maximilian de Bethune, grandſon of this Francis count of Orval, to whom it was adjudged by the council of ſtate, he paying the value of it to the abbé Armand de Bethune his great uncle, afterwards count of Orval.

he

1610. he owed me, a hundred thouſand livres. I had the lands of Sully from the duke de la Tremouille for a hundred and fifty thouſand livres; and Villebon, by an ordinance, for one hundred thouſand. The three contracts I made with the duke of Nevers amounted to two hundred and ten thouſand livres: namely, for Montroud a hundred thouſand; La-Chapelle fifty-ſix thouſand; and for Henrichemont fifty-four thouſand. I bought the eſtate of Châtelet of the duke of Montpenſier for ſixty thouſand livres; that of Culand, by an ordinance, for eight thouſand; and Des Is, in Beauce, for ſeventy-five thouſand livres. The whole of theſe purchaſes, which amount to eleven hundred and ninety thouſand livres, exceeding, as appears, that of the two ſums received above by a hundred and nine thouſand livres, this ſum will be found charged in the articles of receipt, which are placed after; for I am deſirous of giving the reader full ſatisfaction, by carrying this detail even farther than he has a right to expect, and for this purpoſe I muſt ſtep a little aſide from the ſubject I am treating of, and give an account of the ſeveral ſums I received after the death of Henry the Great, as an equivalent for my charges, in gratuities from the young king, &c. even to the time that I reſolved to diſpoſe of almoſt all the employments with which I had been inveſted.

The three hundred thouſand livres which his majeſty granted me by letters patent, were at once a gift from this prince, and a kind of recompence for the ſuperintendance of the finances, and government of the Baſtile, which I reſigned into his hands. He gave me ſixty thouſand livres for my company of gendarms, for which I had refuſed two hundred thouſand. I agreed with Fourcy to reſign to him the ſuperintendance of the buildings for fifty thouſand livres, which was the price ſet upon it by his majeſty: I refuſed to take more. I was offered three hundred thouſand livres for the government of Poitou, which I yielded to Rohan, who obtained the king's conſent that he ſhould purchaſe it for two hundred thouſand. I loſt in the ſame manner a hundred thouſand livres upon the offices of grand-ſurveyor of the roads, and hereditary maſter of the canals and navigation of rivers. The treaſurer of France paid me only a hundred and fifty thouſand for them. His majeſty likewiſe cauſed me to be paid again the ſum of one hundred and fifty thouſand livres for the eſtate of Dourdan, and I agreed with the prince of Condé to give him back the lands of Villebon for a hundred and fifty thouſand livres, which he has ſince paid me. I deſtined theſe two laſt ſums for the portion of my youngeſt daughter, for whom it was more difficult to procure an eſtabliſhment than her eldeſt ſiſter. To theſe ſums I add

thoſe

thoſe which aroſe from the ſale of my benefices; for I thought it was equally allowable for me to take money for them, as for the eccleſiaſtics, by whom they were purchaſed, to give it me; or for the pope to permit it, as he did, by his bulls. I therefore took, without making any ſcruples, an allowance of eighty thouſand livres of an abbé who was recommended to me by the prince of Condé, for my abbey of Coulon. Bethune, who, as well as his ſon, was the moſt ſcrupulous Roman catholic I ever knew, purchaſed, under the ſanction of theſe bulls, the abbey of Jard of me for forty thouſand livres; an abbé, a friend of the duke of Rohan, bought that of l'Or at Poitiers of me for ſeventy thouſand; and l'Argentier Vaucemain, or rather his ſon, that of l'Abſie for fifty thouſand livres. All theſe ſums together make a total of thirteen hundred thouſand livres. Let us now ſee to what uſe it was applied. 1610.

I BOUGHT of M. de Lavardin the eſtate of Montricoux, and that of Cauſſade, from the ſieur Palliers, for a hundred and ſixty thouſand livres both. My youngeſt daughter * having, on account of ſome perſonal diſadvantages, as I obſerved before, occaſion for a larger portion than her ſiſter to marry her ſuitable to her birth, I gave with her to M. de Mirepoix four hundred and fifty thouſand livres in ſpecie: the other expences of this marriage, in jewels, furniture, &c. formed an article of fifty thouſand livres more, which in all makes up the ſum of five hundred thouſand livres. I ſhall only ſlightly obſerve here, that ſuch diſtinguiſhing proofs of paternal tenderneſs were repaid, both by my daughter and her huſband, with the moſt ſtriking inſtances of ingratitude. I lent to ſeveral cities, and to that of Rochelle in particular, more than two hundred and fifty thouſand livres, which, by the ſiege and reduction of this city, and the wars raiſed againſt the proteſtants, I have almoſt wholly loſt. The money I lent, at different times, to the marquis of Roſny, and the debts I paid for him, amount at leaſt to three hundred thouſand livres; the yearly incomes which came to me from Languedoc and Guyenne, by the purchaſe I made of certain regiſtries and rents there, coſt me four hundred thouſand livres; and the houſe I bought in Paris two hundred and twenty thouſand livres. By calculating my accounts of the money I laid out in buildings and other works, in furniture, in journies, and other expences of that kind, I find a capital of ſeven hundred thouſand livres. The ſum total of all theſe ſeveral articles, amounts to two millions five hundred and thirty

* Louiſa de Bethune. She was married on the 29th of May, 1620, to Alexander de Lévis, marquis of Mirepoix.

1610. thouſand livres, which makes it ſuperior to the total of receipt, which precedes it, by twelve hundred and thirty thouſand livres.

The reader may have obſerved, from the beginning of theſe Memoirs, that my application to my domeſtic œconomy extended itſelf to things which it might be naturally expected would have been excepted from it; I mean in the military profits, ariſing either from priſoners I had taken, from ranſoms, or at the ſacking of towns taken by aſſault, and on other occaſions of the ſame kind, which it is not neceſſary to give a minute account of here. When the peace of Vervins was concluded, I found that theſe profits, which when conſidered ſeparately appear ſo ſlight that they ſcarce deſerve to be mentioned, yet made a total of one hundred thouſand livres, or thereabouts. The war of Savoy, which fell out afterwards, was worth as much more to me in cannons, arms, ammunition, &c. taken from the enemy, of which I had a large portion, as great-maſter of the ordnance. Of all this I make an article of three hundred thouſand livres. By calculating the value of all thoſe preſents that were made me on different occaſions, I found the whole amount to a ſum nearly equal to the former. It muſt be obſerved, that I mean only ſuch preſents as I received in the character of a public perſon, and in occurrences when it would not have been decent for me to have refuſed them, as in my embaſſies and negotiations; upon the king's marriage from the queen, and the grand-duke; on the marriage of the princeſs Catherine with the duke of Lorrain; on every new-year's day from their majeſties and queen Margaret. It would have been a ridiculous affectation to ſhew myſelf as ſcrupulouſly nice about theſe preſents, and others of the ſame nature, as I did when they were offered to me with intereſted views. However, I would not receive any thing in this manner without its being expreſſed in a brevet, which I entreated his majeſty to grant me for each of theſe gifts, which, tho' in jewels and trinkets, compoſed a ſum of one hundred thouſand crowns. I ſold again the lands of Dourden for a hundred and fifty thouſand livres, before my gratuities were ſettled to twenty thouſand crowns, as I have already mentioned, and which did not happen till the year 1601. The late king liſtening only to the dictates of his own generous mind, and to the friendſhip with which he honoured me, obliged me to accept many other donations which have not been particularized here, and which, I believe, do not amount to leſs than two hundred thouſand livres. Laſtly, ſince my income was become ſo conſiderable as the reader has ſeen, it is not ſurprizing that by ſtrictly obſerving a maxim, which from my earlieſt years I had laid down as abſolutely

folutely neceſſary for the advantage of my domeſtic affairs; namely, that one ought never to ſpend to the whole extent of one's income, I ſhould at the end of a certain number of years have laid by a very conſiderable ſum. If we ſuppoſe this ſum to amount to three hundred and fifty thouſand livres, and add to it the four former ones, we ſhall find that it will, within a very little matter, make up the twelve hundred thouſand livres, which is wanting to produce a perfect equality between the receipt and expence. I think it unneceſſary to repeat here what I have formerly ſaid, with reſpect to the current expences of my houſe. 1610.

What I am going to relate concerning my tranſactions with the prince of Condé, may appear as a matter of mere curioſity only; but I was not willing to omit it, as it has ſome connection with the ſubject I am on at preſent. When the war broke out againſt the proteſtants under the new reign, the prince of Condé being ſolicitous to remove me from his governments, where I had ſeveral very fine eſtates, and ſome ſtrong caſtles, propoſed to me to ſell them all to him. I was apprehenſive that, if I refuſed to comply with this propoſal, the war would furniſh him with pretences to drive me from thence, which force would have rendered valid. I was ſenſible that his councils had not a little contributed to that reſolution they had lately taken againſt us, and I was forewarned that he was meditating ſomething worſe with regard to me. I therefore agreed with him for the lands of Villebon, Montroud, Orval, Culand, and Le-Châtelet, and with the greater willingneſs, as he offered me more than they had coſt me, and indeed more than they were worth. Accordingly a contract was ſigned by us both, in which the prince of Condé obliged himſelf to give me twelve hundred thouſand livres for thoſe eſtates: he did not pay me the money down indeed; but I readily conſented to wait till it ſuited his own conveniency.

However, I did not expect that, at the expiration of a certain time, this prince would find out an eaſy method of diſcharging at once both the principal and intereſt, by demanding of the king that my eſtates ſhould be confiſcated, a practice which the war made then very common. His majeſty was ſo good as to remember me on this occaſion, and rejected with a kind of horror ſo infamous a requeſt. When the peace was concluded, the prince found himſelf obliged to come to an account with me. His inclination for the lands of Baugy increaſing, there was a neceſſity for yielding him that likewiſe, as well as all the others, in order that I might not on any ſide be his neighbour. He

1610. took a diſlike to the lands of Villebon, which, together with thoſe of Muret, he reſtored to me as an equivalent for the eſtate which he ſo eagerly coveted. The exchange was not diſadvantageous to me. This method of paying me being moſt convenient for this prince, he made over to me, one after the other, the lands of Nogent, Montigny, Chanrond, Vitrai, the marquiſate of Conty, Breteuil, Francatel, and La-Falaiſe, inveſted with the ſame rights as the lands that I had exchanged, the principal of which, in my eyes, was the liberty of calling them, according to the king's patent, A poſſeſſion which I held by the liberality and the immediate grant of the king my maſter. * Thus I got out of the diſpute with the prince, who, it muſt be confeſſed, was guilty of a double injuſtice in endeavouring to get poſſeſſion of my eſtates by procuring them to be confiſcated.

* Amongſt the papers containing the proofs of what M. de Sully here relates of his diſputes with the prince of Condé, which the preſent duke of Sully has done me the honour to communicate to me, I find two letters, which it may not be improper to inſert here: one is from the prince of Condé to the firſt duke of Sully; the other from the prince of Conty to the marquis de Bethune (Maximilian Alpinus) grandfather of the duke of Sully now living.

Letter from the Prince of Condé to the Duke of Sully.

" Monsieur,

" I hope to have the honour of ſeeing you ſoon. The bearer hereof will inform you from whence this comes, and explain the contents of it to you. You will find, from my actions, how much I have at heart the king's ſervice, the public good, and your friendſhip in particular, which I paſſionately covet. I beg you will aſſuredly rely on the truth of theſe profeſſions. I am preparing, in performance of our mutual engagements, to conclude our bargain for Villebon, and will let you know (begging you will meet me for that purpoſe) in what place I can have the honour of converſing with you.

I am, Monſieur,
Your couſin, and moſt humble ſervant,
HENRY de BOURBON."

Letter from the Prince of Conty to the Marquis of Bethune.

" Monsieur,

" I am extremely preſſed by the count of Orval to conſent to the agreement he is deſirous of making with the viſcount of Meaux, for the eſtate of Chanrond; and he even offered to give me ſecurity to indemnify me againſt the warranty my late father entered into. I would not however make him any promiſe, after having engaged to your mother-in-law not to do any thing in this affair without acquainting you with it; and, as it is for the benefit of all parties, that this matter ſhould be ſettled, and made an end of as ſoon as poſſible, I am willing to refer my pretenſions to the judgment of the count de Bethune your kinſman, and beg you will do ſo too, and ſubmit to what he ſhall direct. The count of Orval and the viſcouut of Meaux are content to ſubmit their claims to him, and abide by his determination. I make no doubt of your conſenting to this propoſal, as otherwiſe I ſhall be obliged to do what is deſired of me, and accept of the propoſed ſecurity. I earneſtly beſeech you not to make any difficulty of coming into this agreement. In the mean time, I am

Your moſt affectionate ſervant,
ARMAND de BOURBON."

Toulouſe, 19th of Oct. 1636.

I have

I have been a witneſs of very miſerable times ſince the death of the king my maſter. The war which I ſaw kindled againſt the proteſtants, filled me with grief: I was incited by a thouſand different motives to take part in it; but I courageouſly reſiſted this ſnare: I never gave the king the leaſt reaſon to look upon me as a rebel, or an abettor of rebels. I have punctually obeyed all his majeſty's commands; am always ready to preſent myſelf at court whenever he is pleaſed to require it: in a word, I have had the good fortune to continue as faithful in the performance of thoſe promiſes I made to the king my benefactor, as in that of the duties of a good citizen. 1610.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

OF

SULLY.

BOOK XXX.

Wherein is diſcuſſed the POLITICAL SCHEME

COMMONLY CALLED

The Great Deſign of HENRY IV.

AS this part of theſe Memoirs will be chiefly taken up with an account of the great deſign of Henry IV. or the political ſcheme, by which he propoſed to govern, not only France, but all Europe; it may not be improper to begin it with ſome more general reflections on this monarchy, and on the Roman empire, upon whoſe ruins we know it has been formed, as well as all the other powers which at this day compoſe the chriſtian world.

IF we conſider all thoſe ſucceſſive changes which Rome has ſuffered from the year of the world 3064, which is that of its foundation *, its infancy, youth, and virility, its declenſion, fall, and final ruin; theſe

* The opinion now moſt generally received is that of Varro, who places the time of the foundation of Rome near 200 years later.

viciſſitudes, which it experienced in common with the great monarchies by which it was preceded, would almoſt incline one to believe, that empires, like all other ſublunary things, are ſubject to be the ſport, and at laſt ſink under the preſſure of time. And if we extend this idea ſtill farther, we ſhall perhaps perceive, that they are all liable to be diſturbed or interrupted in their courſes, by certain extraordinary incidents; which, for any thing we can diſcover to the contrary, may be termed epidemical diſtempers, that very frequently precipitate their deſtruction; and their cure by this diſcovery becoming eaſier, we may at leaſt recover ſome of them from thoſe criſis's which threaten their deſtruction.

But if we endeavour to diſcover more viſible and natural cauſes of the ruin of this vaſt and formidable empire, we ſhall perhaps ſoon perceive they were produced by a deviation from thoſe wiſe laws, and that ſimplicity of manners, which were the original of all its grandeur, into luxury, avarice, and ambition; yet there was, finally, another cauſe, the effect of which could hardly have been prevented or foreſeen by the utmoſt human wiſdom; I mean, the irruptions of thoſe vaſt bodies of barbarous people, Goths, Vandals, Huns, Herulians, Rugians, Lombards, &c. from whom, both ſeparately and united, the Roman empire received ſuch violent ſhocks, that it was at laſt overthrown by them: Rome was three times ſacked by theſe Barbarians*; in 414, under Honorius, by Alaric, chief of the Goths; in 455, by Genſeric, king of the Vandals, under Martin; and in 546, under Juſtinian, by Totila and the Goths. Now if it be true, that after this, the city retained the ſhadow of what ſhe had been, if we muſt regard her as diveſted of the empire of the world, when her weakneſs and the abuſes of her government made this event to be looked upon, not ſimply as inevitable, but as very near, and, in fact, already arrived; the epocha of her fall may then be marked long before the reign of Valentine III. to whom it will be doing a favour, to call him the laſt emperor of the Eaſt†; for ſeveral of thoſe emperors whom he ſucceeded were, in reality, no better than tyrants, by whom the empire was

* Theſe three epochas are not quite juſt; the firſt was in 410, inſtead of 414; the ſecond in 455, or 456; and the third in 524, under Tagus, ſucceſſor of Totila, and the laſt king of the Goths: the ſacking the city this laſt time laſted forty days.

† It would be unjuſt, ſurely, to refuſe the title of emperors of the Eaſt to Valentinian III. to Honorius, &c. The expreſſions here uſed by our author ſhould not be underſtood in their moſt rigorous ſenſe, but only as meaning an empire weakened, and approaching to its final deſtruction.

torn

tern and divided, and the ſhattered remnants left to be the ſpoil of the Barbarians, who, indeed, by their conqueſts, acquired an equal right to them.

Rome, nevertheleſs, by intervals, beheld ſome faint appearances of a revival; thoſe of which ſhe was moſt ſenſible were under the reign of the great Conſtantine, whoſe victories once more united this vaſt body under one head; but when he tranſported the ſeat of his empire from Rome to Conſtantinople, he, by that ſtep, without being ſenſible of it, contributed more to the deſtruction of a work which had coſt him ſo much labour, than all the ill conduct of his predeceſſors had been able to effect; and this even he rendered irremediable, by dividing his empire equally between his three ſons. Theodoſius, who by good fortune, or from an effect of his great valour, found himſelf in the ſame circumſtances with Conſtantine, would not perhaps have committed the ſame fault, had he not been influenced by the force of Conſtantine's example; but this, in a manner, neceſſarily obliged him to divide his empire in two; Arcadius had the Eaſt, Honorius the Weſt: and from that time there never was any hopes nor opportunity of reuniting them.

According to the order of nature, by which the deſtruction of one king becomes the inſtrument for the production of others; ſo, in proportion, as the moſt diſtant members of the empire of the Eaſt fell off from it, from thence there aroſe kingdoms; though indeed they did not at firſt bear that rank. The moſt ancient of theſe (its origin appearing to have been in the eighth year of the empire of Honorius is, undoubtedly, that which was founded in Gaul by the French, ſo called from Franconia, from whence they were invited by the Gauls, who inhabited the countries about the Moſelle, to aſſiſt them in their deliverance from the oppreſſion of the Roman armies. It being a cuſtom among theſe Franks, or French, to confer the title of king upon whatever perſon they choſe to be their leader; if the firſt or ſecond of theſe chiefs have not borne it, it is certain, at leaſt, that the third, which was Merovius, and more particularly Clavius, who was the fifth, were inveſted with it *, and ſome of them ſupported it with ſo much glory;

* The whole of what is here ſaid, may be allowed to be right: according to Petau and Sirmond, the chiefs of the French bore the title of kings from the reign of Valentinian II. which was long before the year 445, when Claudian, by the taking of Cambray, &c. firſt eſtabliſhed himſelf on this ſide of the Rhine. They firſt eſtabliſhed themſelves on the other ſide of the Rhine, about the middle of the third

among

among others, Pepin and Charles Martel, to whom it would be doing an injuſtice to refuſe them this dignity; that their worthy ſucceſſor Charlemagne, in Gaul, revived an imperfect image of the now extinguiſhed empire in the Eaſt: this indeed was facilitated by thoſe natural advantages France enjoys of numerous inhabitants trained to war; and a great plenty of all things ſerving the different neceſſities of life, joined to a very great conveniency for commerce, ariſing from its ſituation, which renders it the center of four of the principal powers of Europe; Germany, Italy, Spain, and Britain, with the Low Countries.

Let us here juſt ſay one word upon the three races which compoſe the ſucceſſion of our kings: in the firſt of them I find only Merovius, Clovis I. and Clovis II. Charles Martel, Pepin le Bref, and Charlemagne, in the ſecond, who have raiſed themſelves above the common level of their race. Take away theſe ſix from the thirty-five, which we compute in theſe two races, and all the reſt, from their vices or their incapacity, appear to have been either wicked kings, or but the ſhadow of kings; though among them we may diſtinguiſh ſome good qualities in Sigibert and Dagobert, and a very great devotion in Lewis le Debonnaire, which, however, ended in his repenting the loſs of empire and his kingdom, together with his liberty, in a cloiſter.

The Carlovingian race having reigned obſcurely, and ended ſo too, the crown then deſcended upon a third; the four firſt kings of which, in my opinion, appear to have been perfect models of wiſe and good government. The kingdom which came under their dominion had loſt much of its original ſplendor, for from its immenſe extent in the time of Charlemagne, it was reduced to very near the ſame bounds which it has at this day; with this difference, that though they might have been deſirous to reſtore its ancient limits, the form of the government, which rendered the kings ſubject to the great men and people of the kingdom, who had a right to chuſe, and even to govern their ſovereigns, left them no means by which they could ſucceed in ſuch an attempt. The conduct, therefore, which they purſued was, to condemn arbitrary power to an abſolute ſilence; and, in its place, to ſub-

century, and extended themſelves, nearly from the Texel, as far as Francfort. This revolt of a part of Gaul againſt the Romans, happened in 434, in the twelfth year of the reign of Valentinian III. and the author's opinion on the eſtabliſhment of the French in Gaul, is confirmed by a learned academic, who has cleared up this critical point as much as it was poſſible (the late abbé Du-Bos.) Hiſt. Crit. de l'etab. de la monarchie Franç. dans les Gaules. Tom. I. liv. i. ch. 17. liv. ii. ch. 7, 8.

ſtitute equity itſelf: a kind of dominion which never excites envy. Nothing now was done without the conſent of the great men and the principal cities, and almoſt always in conſequence of the deciſion of an aſſembly of the ſtates. A conduct ſo moderate and prudent put an end to all factions, and ſtifled all conſpiracies, which are fatal to the ſtate or the ſovereign. Regularity, œconomy, a diſtinction of merit, ſtrict obſervance of juſtice, all the virtues which we ſuppoſe neceſſary qualifications for the good of a family, were what characterized this new government, and produced what was never before beheld, and what perhaps we may never ſee again, an uninterrupted peace for one hundred twenty-two years: what theſe gained by it for themſelves in particular, and which all the authority of the Salic law could never have procured them, was, the advantage of introducing into this houſe an hereditary right to the crown. But they, nevertheleſs, thought it a neceſſary precaution, not to declare their eldeſt ſons for their ſucceſſors till they had modeſtly aſked the conſent of the people, preceded it by a kind of election, and uſually by having them crowned in their own life-time, and ſeated with them upon the throne.

Philip II. whom Lewis VII. his father, cauſed to be crowned, and reign with him in this manner, was the firſt who neglected to obſerve this ceremony between the ſovereign and his people: ſeveral victories, obtained over his neighbours and over his own ſubjects, which gained him the ſurname of Auguſtus, ſerved to open him a paſſage to abſolute power; and a notion of the fitneſs and legality of this power, by the aſſiſtance of favourites, miniſters, and others, became afterwards ſo ſtrongly imprinted in his ſucceſſors, that they looked upon it as a mark of the moſt profound good policy, to act contrary to thoſe maxims; the general and particular utility of which had been ſo effectually confirmed by experience. And this they did without any fear, or perhaps without any conception of the fatal conſequences which ſuch a proceeding, againſt a nation that adored its liberty, might, and even neceſſarily would incur *; of which they might eaſily have become ſen-

* The abbé Du-Bos, from the ſame principle with our author, draws quite different concluſions, which, to me, appear to be as juſt, as theſe are the contrary, in that excellent work of his, the deſign of which is, to refute the error into which the author of theſe Memoirs has here fallen: "This error," ſays he, Diſc. Prelim. p. 51. "would lead one to ſuppoſe, that whatever has been done by "the ſucceſſors of Hugh Capet, in favour "of the royal authority, whether in freeing the ſubjects from their vaſſalage to "the lords, or in placing royal officers in "fiefs of any conſequence, or by diveſting the lords of the power which
ſible.

ſible, from the means to which the people had immediate recourſe, to ſhake off the yoke of tyranny with which they ſaw themſelves menaced. The kings could never obtain of their people any other than that kind of conſtrained obedience, which always inclines them to embrace with eagerneſs, all opportunities of mutiny. This was the ſource of a thouſand bloody wars: that by which almoſt all France was ravaged by the Engliſh; that which we had with Italy, Burgundy, Spain; all of them can be attributed to no other cauſes, than the civil diſſenſions by which they were preceded: and here the weakeſt ſide, ſtifling the voice of honour, and the intereſt of the nation, conſtantly called in foreigners to aſſiſt them in the ſupport of their tottering liberties. Theſe were ſhameful and fatal remedies; but from that time they were conſtantly employed, down even to our doors, by the houſe of Lorrain, in a league, for which religion was nothing more than the pretence. Another evil, which may at firſt appear to be of a different kind, but which, in my opinion, proceeds from the ſame ſource, was a general corruption of manners, a thirſt for riches, and a moſt ſhameful degree of luxury: theſe, ſometimes ſeparately, and ſometimes united, were alternate cauſes and effects of many of our miſeries.

Thus, in a few words, I have expoſed the various ſpecies of our bad policy, with reſpect both to the form of the government, ſucceſſively ſubjected to the will of the people, the ſoldiers, the nobles, the ſtates, and the kings; and in regard to the perſons likewiſe of theſe laſt, whether dependent, elective, hereditary, or abſolute.

From the picture here laid before us, we may be enabled to form our judgment upon the third race of our kings: we may find a thouſand things to admire in Philip Auguſtus, Saint-Lewis, Philip le Bel, Charles

" they exerciſed, of aſſembling their vaſ-
" ſals, to make war upon other lords their
" neighbours; or by purſuing other me-
" thods which ſovereigns only juſtly make
" uſe of; have all of them been only ſo
" many attempts to deſtroy the primitive
" conſtitution of the kingdom. Were this
" true, we could then conſider Lewis le
" Gros, Philip Auguſtus, and the other
" moſt illuſtrious kings of the third race,
" in no other light than as ſo many ty-
" rants; though they have only reclaimed
" the impreſcriptible rights of their crown
" and people, from thoſe uſurpers, who
" in the ninth and tenth centuries, had
" ſeized on both. Indeed theſe princes,
" by thus recovering a part of their rights,
" have been ſo far from doing any injury
" to the ancient conſtitution of the king-
" dom, that they have thereby only re-
" ſtored, ſo far as in their power, its
" primitive ſtate." And this he afterwards proves to a demonſtration, in the ſixth book of the ſame work. See alſo the Memoirs of M. de Foncemagne, both with reſpect to the Salic law and the ſucceſſion to the crown, which we have cited before.

le Sage, Charles VII. and Lewis XII. But it is to be lamented, that ſo many virtues, or great qualities, have been exerciſed upon no better principles; with what pleaſure might we beſtow upon them the titles of great kings, could we but conceal that their people were miſerable: what might we not, in particular, ſay of Lewis IX? of the forty-four years which he reigned, the firſt twenty of them exhibits a ſcene not unworthy to be compared with the eleven laſt of Henry the Great. But I am afraid all their glory will appear to have been deſtroyed in the twenty-four following; wherein it appears, that the exceſſive taxes upon the ſubjects, to ſatisfy an ill-judged and deſtructive devotion; immenſe ſums tranſported into the moſt diſtant countries, for the ranſom of priſoners; ſo many thouſand ſubjects ſacrificed; ſo many illuſtrious houſes extinguiſhed; cauſed a univerſal mourning throughout France, and all together a general calamity.

Let us for once, if it is poſſible, fix our principles; and being, from long experience, convinced, that the happineſs of mankind can never ariſe from war, of which we ought to have been perſuaded long ago; let us upon this principle, take a curſory view of the hiſtory of our monarchy. We will paſs by the wars of Clovis and his predeceſſors, becauſe they ſeem to have been, in ſome degree, neceſſary to confirm the recent foundations of the monarchy: but what ſhall we ſay of thoſe wars, in which the four ſons of Clovis, the four ſons of Clotaire I. and their deſcendents, were engaged, during the uninterrupted courſe of one hundred and ſixty years? and of thoſe alſo, by which, for the ſpace of one hundred ſeventy-two other years, commencing with Lewis le Debonnaire, the kingdom was harraſſed and torn? What follows is ſtill worſe: The ſlighteſt knowledge of our hiſtory is ſufficient to convince any one, that there was no real tranquillity in the kingdom from Henry VIII. to the peace of Vervins: and, in ſhort, all this long period may be called a war of near four hundred years duration. After this examination, from whence it inconteſtibly appears, that our kings have ſeldom thought of any thing but how to carry on their wars, we cannot but be ſcrupulous in beſtowing on them the title of, Truly Great kings; though we ſhall, nevertheleſs, render them all the juſtice which appears to have been their due: for I confeſs (as indeed it would be unjuſt to attribute to them only, a crime which was properly that of all Europe) that ſeveral of theſe princes were ſometimes in ſuch circumſtances as rendered the wars juſt, and even neceſſary; and from hence, when indeed there were no other means to obtain it, they acquired a true and laſting glory. For herein, from the manner in which ſeveral of theſe

theſe wars were foreſeen, prepared for, and conducted, we may in their councils diſcover ſuch maſter-ſtrokes of policy, and in their perſons ſuch noble inſtances of courage, as are deſerving of our higheſt praiſes. From whence then can proceed the error of ſo many exploits, in appearance ſo glorious, though the effect of them has generally been the devaſtation both of France and all Europe? I repeat it again, of all Europe, which even yet ſeems ſcarce ſenſible, that in her preſent ſituation, a ſituation in which ſhe has been, for ſeveral centuries, every attempt which ſhall tend to her ſubjection, or only to the too conſiderably augmenting of any one of her principal monarchies, at the expence of the others, can never be any other than a chimerical and impoſſible enterprize. There are none of theſe monarchies, but whoſe deſtruction will require a concurrence of cauſes infinitely ſuperior to all human force. The whole, therefore, of what ſeems proper and neceſſary to be done, is to ſupport them all in a kind of equilibrium; and whatever prince thinks, and in conſequence acts otherwiſe, may indeed cauſe torrents of blood to flow through all Europe, but he will never be able to change her form.

When I obſerved, that the extent of France is not now ſo conſiderable as it was in the time of Charlemagne, my intention, moſt certainly, was not, that this diminution ſhould be conſidered as a misfortune. In an age when we feel the ſad effects of having had ambitious princes, from time to time, for our kings, were all to concur in flattering this fatal ambition, it would be the cauſe of ſtill greater evils; and it may be generally obſerved, that the larger the extent of kingdoms, the more they are ſubject to great revolutions and misfortunes. The baſis of the tranquillity of our own, in particular, depends upon preſerving it within its preſent limits. A climate, laws, manners, and language, different from our own; ſeas, and chains of mountains almoſt inacceſſible, are all ſo many barriers, which we may conſider as fixed even by nature. Beſides, what is it that France wants? will ſhe not always be the richeſt and moſt powerful kingdom in Europe? It muſt be granted. All therefore which the French have to wiſh or deſire is, that heaven grant them pious, good, and wiſe kings; and that theſe kings may employ their power in preſerving the peace of Europe; for no other enterprize can truly be to them either profitable or ſucceſsful.

And this explains to us the nature of the deſign which Henry IV. was on the point of putting in execution, when it pleaſed God to take him

him to himſelf, too ſoon by ſome years for the happineſs of the world. From hence likewiſe we may perceive the motives to his purſuing a conduct ſo oppoſite to any thing that had hitherto been undertaken by crowned heads; and here we may behold what it was that acquired him the title of Great. His deſigns were not inſpired by a mean and deſpicable ambition, nor guided by baſe and partial intereſts: to render France happy for ever was his deſire; and ſhe cannot perfectly enjoy this felicity, unleſs all Europe likewiſe partake of it; ſo it was the happineſs of Europe in general which he laboured to procure, and this in a manner ſo ſolid and durable, that nothing ſhould afterwards be able to ſhake its foundations.

I must confeſs I am under ſome apprehenſions, leſt this ſcheme* ſhould at firſt be conſidered as one of thoſe darling chimeras, or idle

* The Memoirs of Sully are the only monument which has preſerved to poſterity an account of the great deſign of Henry IV. We find no traces of it in any of the hiſtorians, authors of Memoirs, or other writers, that were cotemporary with that prince; their ſilence in this matter proceeded, no doubt, from their not knowing enough of it to ſay any thing with certainty about it. The world did not begin to deſcant upon it till the *Memoirs of Sully*, wherein it is ſo clearly deſcribed, were publiſhed; and among all thoſe who have conſidered it ever ſince about the middle of the ſeventeenth century, I find ſcarce any who have queſtioned the poſſibility of executing it; doubtleſs, becauſe they lived near enough to the times in which it was formed, to be convinced, even from the mouths of thoſe who had been witneſſes of the preparations and diſpoſitions which were made, that all the meaſures had been taken preciſely in the ſame manner as related by the duke of Sully; and conſequently, that it would have had but few of thoſe obſtacles to encounter which have ſince been raiſed againſt it.

The author of a manuſcript diſcourſe in the king's library, which to me appears to be the moſt ancient Memoirs we have of that time, ſeems not in the leaſt to have doubted of ſucceſs in its execution. And M. de Perefixe, who in the third part of his hiſtory of Henry the Great, has given a ſhort but very accurate account of the ſcheme, ſays poſitively that it would have ſucceeded; and farther confirms his aſſertion by proofs, which he gives, p. 388, and the following. The continuator of Thuanus, in what little he has ſaid of it, anno 1609, and 1610, does not appear to have been of a different ſentiment. The marechal de Baſſompierre alſo, in his Journal, tom. I. ſeems to be in its favour. To theſe authorities we may alſo join that of the author of the life of the duke d'Epernon, and ſome others, who all ſeem to be of the ſame opinion. Indeed, till the beginning of the preſent century, all authors appear to have been unanimous in this point; and ſeveral of our modern hiſtorians have joined them herein.

Vittorio (Mem. Recond. tom. I. p. 29, 514. tom. II. p. 45, &c.) is the firſt that I know by whom this great enterprize has been treated as abſurd and impoſſible: but the ignorance which he ſhews in the whole affair, even in thoſe points which are the leaſt conteſted; his attachment to the Spaniſh politics, and his diſtance from the perſons of Henry IV. and his miniſter, which is every way apparent in all he ſays on the ſubject, render him, in this reſpect, very juſtly exceptionable: his ſentiments have been adopted by the author of the Hiſtory of the Mother and Son, tom. I.

political

political ſpeculations, in which a mind ſuſceptible of ſtrange and ſingular ideas, may be ſo eaſily engaged: thoſe who ſhall thus think of it, muſt be of that ſort of people on whom the firſt impreſſions upon a prejudiced imagination, have the force of truth; or thoſe, who by their diſtance from the times, and their ignorance of the circumſtances, confound the wiſeſt and nobleſt enterpriſes that have ever been formed, with thoſe chimerical projects which princes, intoxicated with their

p. 44. and for a ſimilar reaſon of attachment to the queen, mother of Lewis XIII. But this writer, ſuch as he is, producing no better authority for his opinion, than the age of Henry IV. who was then near ſixty, appears alſo to have been ſo entirely unacquainted with the affair, that we may, without ſcruple, pronounce, he was ignorant of the diſpoſition which had been made for the complete execution of it within the ſpace of three years, and that he condemns the deſign without underſtanding it.

I have much greater reverence for the authority of ſome modern politicians, who conſider it as a kind of impoſſibility, thus to change the face of all Europe, in the manner propoſed by Henry IV. and who imagine, that in our days a much more happy expedient has been diſcovered, whereby to obtain the equilibrium of Europe, than by reviving the ancient council of the Amphyctions: what I mean, is the precaution now obſerved, of having all the principal powers of Europe accede to, and become the guarantees of every particular treaty. But all thoſe calamities which we have ſuffered in conſequence of war, do but too plainly evince its inſufficiency. In regard to the main ſtreſs of the queſtion, I agree with them, that Europe could not now, but with great difficulty, be conſtituted in the manner propoſed by Henry the Great: nevertheleſs I believe, without pretending to ſubject any one to my opinion, that thoſe who treat this prince's deſign as a chimera, do not pay all the neceſſary attention to the circumſtances of thoſe times, wherein Europe, from her frequent dangers of being ſubjected to the houſe of Auſtria, and by the bloody wars which a difference of religion had excited, and continued daily to excite, found herſelf in a manner compelled to have recourſe to extraordinary means to put a period to her miſeries.

I cannot finiſh this remark better, than in the words of M. l'Abbé de Saint-Pierre, in his Diſcours ſur le Grand Homme: "From hence we may perceive, that if "Henry IV. king of France, had executed his celebrated and well-projected "deſign, whereby to render peace perpetual and univerſal among the ſovereigns "of Europe, he would have procured the "greateſt benefit that it was poſſible, not "only to his own ſubjects, but to all the "chriſtian kingdoms; and even, by a neceſſary conſequence, to the world in "general: a benefit of which all generations, preſent and to come, would have "participated down to the lateſt time; a "benefit, by which we ſhould have been "exempted from thoſe terrible and numerous evils, which are the effects of foreign and domeſtic wars; a benefit, "which would have been the ſource of "all thoſe ſweets which naturally flow "from an uninterrupted and univerſal "tranquillity: if, I ſay, he had been ſo "happy as to have executed this great deſign, it would have rendered him, beyond all compariſon, the greateſt man "the world ever has, or probably ever "will, produce." After ſome farther reflections upon the means ſtill more practicable, this judicious author adds: "This "prince, however, has always had the "honour of being conſidered as the author of the moſt important invention, "and moſt uſeful diſcovery, for the benefit of mankind, that has yet appeared in the world; the execution of "which may, perhaps, be reſerved by "providence, for the greateſt and moſt "capable of his ſucceſſors."

power, have in all ages amuſed themſelves in forming. I confeſs, that if we attentively examine the deſigns which have been planned from motives of vanity, confidence in good fortune, ignorance, nay, from ſloth, and even timidity itſelf, we muſt be ſurprized to behold ſovereigns plunged blindly into ſchemes, ſpecious perhaps in appearance, but which at bottom have not the leaſt degree of poſſibility. The mind of man, with ſo much complacency, nay, even with ſo much ardour, purſues whatever it fancies great or beautiful, that it is ſorry to be made ſenſible, that theſe objects have frequently nothing real or ſolid in them. But in this, as well as in other things, there is an oppoſite extreme to be avoided; which is, that as we uſually fail in the execution of great deſigns, from not commencing and continuing them with ſufficient vigour and ſpirit; ſo likewiſe we are defective in the knowledge of their true worth and tendency, becauſe we do not thoroughly and properly conſider them in all their dependencies and conſequences. I have myſelf been more difficult to perſuade in this matter, than perhaps any of thoſe who ſhall read theſe Memoirs; and this I conſider as an effect of that cold, cautious, and unenterprizing temper, which make ſo conſiderable a part of my character.

I REMEMBER the firſt time the king ſpoke to me of a political ſyſtem, by which all Europe might be regulated and governed as one great family, I ſcarce paid any attention to what he ſaid, imagining that he meant no more by it than merely to divert himſelf, or perhaps to ſhew, that his thoughts on political ſubjects were greater, and penetrated deeper, than moſt others: my reply was a mixture of pleaſantry and compliment. Henry ſaid no more at that time. He often confeſſed to me afterwards, that he had long concealed from me what he meditated on this ſubject, from a principle of ſhame, which many labour under, leſt they ſhould diſcloſe deſigns which might appear ridiculous or impoſſible. I was aſtoniſhed when, ſome time after, he renewed our converſation on this head, and continued from year to year, to entertain me with new regulations and new improvements in this ſcheme.

I HAD been very far from thinking ſeriouſly about it. If by accident it came into my thoughts for a moment, the firſt view of the deſign, which ſuppoſed a re-union of all the different ſtates of Europe; immenſe expences, at a time when France could ſcarce ſupply her own neceſſities; a concatenation of events which to me appeared infinite: theſe were conſiderations which had always made me reject the thought as vain; I even apprehended there was ſome illuſion in it: I recollected ſome

ſome of thoſe enterprizes in which we had endeavoured to engage Europe. I conſidered thoſe in particular which had been formed by ſome of our kings, from much leſs conſiderable motives, and I felt myſelf diſguſted with this, from the bad ſucceſs of all the former. The diſpoſition of the princes of Europe to take umbrage againſt France, when ſhe would have aſſiſted them to diſſipate their fears from the too great power of Spain, this alone to me appeared an unſurmountable obſtacle.

Strongly prejudiced by this opinion, I uſed my utmoſt efforts to undeceive Henry, who, on his ſide, ſurprized not to find me of his ſentiment in any one point, immediately undertook, and readily ſucceeded in convincing me, that my thus indiſcriminately condemning all parts of his project, in which he was certain that every thing at leaſt was not blameable, could proceed from nothing but ſtrong prejudices. I could not refuſe, at his ſolicitations, to uſe my endeavours to gain a thorough comprehenſion of it: I formed a clearer plan of it in my mind: I collected and united all its different branches: I ſtudied all its proportions and dimenſions, if I may ſay ſo; and I diſcovered in them a regularity and mutual dependence, of which, when I only conſidered the deſign in a confuſed and careleſs manner, I had not been at all ſenſible. The benefit which would manifeſtly ariſe from it to all Europe, was what moſt immediately ſtruck me, as being in effect the plaineſt and moſt evident; but the means to effect ſo good a deſign were, therefore, what I heſitated at the longeſt. The general ſituation of the affairs of Europe, and of our own in particular, appeared to me every way contrary to the execution: I did not conſider that, as the execution of it might be deferred till proper opportunity, we had all thoſe reſources whereby to prepare ourſelves, which time affords thoſe who know how to make the beſt uſe of it. I was at laſt convinced, that however diſproportionate the means might appear to the effect, a courſe of years, during which every thing ſhould as much as poſſible be made ſubſervient to the great object in view, would ſurmount many difficulties. It is indeed ſomewhat extraordinary, that this point, which appeared to be, and really was, the moſt difficult of any, ſhould at laſt become the moſt eaſy.

Having thus ſeen all parts of the deſign in their juſt points of view, having thoroughly conſidered and calculated, and from thence diſcovered and prepared for all events which might happen, I found myſelf confirmed in the opinion, that the deſign of Henry the Great was,

upon the whole, just in its intention, possible, and even practicable in all its parts, and infinitely glorious in all its effects: so that, upon all occasions, I was the first to recal the king to his engagements, and sometimes to convince him by those very arguments which he himself had taught me.

The constant attention this prince paid to all affairs transacted round him, from an effect of those singularly unhappy circumstances, by which, in almost every instant of his life, he found himself embarrassed, had been the cause of his forming this design, even from the time when, being called to the crown by the death of Henry III. he considered the humbling of the house of Austria as what was absolutely necessary for his security; yet, if he was not beholden to Elizabeth * for his thought of the design, it is, however, certain, that this great queen had herself conceived it long before, as a means to revenge Europe for the attempts of its common enemy. The troubles in which all the following years were engaged, the war which succeeded in 1595, and that against Savoy after the peace of Vervins, forced Henry into difficulties which obliged him to lay aside all thoughts of other affairs; and it was not till after his marriage, and the firm re-establishment of peace, that he renewed his thoughts upon his first design, to execute which, appeared then more impossible, or at least more improbable, than ever.

He, nevertheless, communicated it by letters to Elizabeth, and this was what inspired them with so strong an inclination to confer together in 1601, when this princess came to Dover, and Henry to Calais. What the ceremony of an interview would not have permitted them to do, I at last begun by the voyage which I made to this princess. I

* The present duke of Sully is possessed of the original of an excellent letter of Henry the Great, supposed to have been wrote by him to queen Elizabeth, though this princess is not named, neither in the body of the letter, nor in the superscription, which is in these words: *To her who merits immortal praise.* The terms in which Henry herein speaks of a certain political project, which he calls, *The most excellent and rare enterprize that ever the human mind conceived——a thought rather divine than human*; the praises which he bestows upon *this discourse so well connected and demonstrative of what would be necessary for the government of empires and kingdoms*——; on those *conceptions and resolutions* from which nothing less may be hoped than *most remarkable issues both of honour and glory.* All these passages can relate to none but Elizabeth, nor mean any other than the great design in question, concerning which it from hence evidently appears, that the queen of England had by letters disclosed her thoughts to Henry. The letter from which these extracts are taken, is dated from Paris, the 12th of July; but without the date of the year. Lettres de Henry le Grand.

found

found her deeply engaged in the means by which this great deſign might be ſucceſsfully executed; and, notwithſtanding the difficulties which ſhe apprehended in its two principal points, namely, the agreement of religions, and the equality of the powers, ſhe did not to me appear at all to doubt of its ſucceſs, which ſhe chiefly expected, for a reaſon, the juſtneſs of which I have ſince been well convinced of; and this was, that, as the plan was only contrary to the deſign of ſome princes, whoſe ambitious views were ſufficiently known to all Europe, this difficulty, from which the neceſſity of the deſign more evidently appeared, would rather promote than retard its ſucceſs. She farther ſaid, that its execution by any other means than that of arms, would be very deſirable, as this has always ſomething odious in it: but ſhe confeſſed, that indeed it would be hardly poſſible to begin it any otherwiſe. A very great number of the articles, conditions, and different diſpoſitions, is due to this queen; and ſufficiently ſhew, that in reſpect of wiſdom, penetration, and all the other perfections of the mind, ſhe was not inferior to any king, the moſt truly deſerving of that title.

It muſt indeed be conſidered as a very great misfortune, that Henry could not at this time ſecond the intention of the queen of England, who wiſhed to have the deſign put in immediate execution; but when he thus laid the foundation of the edifice, he ſcarced hoped to ſee the time when the finiſhing hand would be put to it. The recovery of his own kingdom from the various maladies by which it was afflicted, was a work of ſeveral years; and unhappily he had himſelf ſeen forty-eight when he began it: he purſued it, nevertheleſs, with the greateſt vigour. The edict of Nantz had been publiſhed with this view, and every other means was uſed which might gain the reſpect and confidence of the princes of Europe. Henry and I, at the ſame time, applied ourſelves with indefatigable labour to regulate the interior affairs of the kingdom. We conſidered the death of the king of Spain as the moſt favourable event that could happen to our deſign, but it received ſo violent a ſhock by the death of Elizabeth, as had like to have made us abandon all our hopes. Henry had no expectation that the powers of the north, nor king James, the ſucceſſor to Elizabeth, when he was acquainted with his character, would any of them ſo readily conſent to ſupport him in his deſign, as this princeſs had done. However, the new allies which he daily gained in Germany, and even in Italy, comforted him a little for the loſs of Elizabeth. The truce betwen Spain and the Low Countries may alſo be numbered among incidents favourable to it.

Yet, if we conſider all the obſtacles which afterwards aroſe in his own kingdom, from the proteſtants, the catholics, the clergy, nay even from his own council, it will appear as if all things conſpired againſt it. Could it be imagined that Henry, in his whole council, ſhould not find one perſon, beſides myſelf, to whom he could, without danger, diſcloſe the whole of his deſigns? and that the reſpect due to him, could ſcarce reſtrain thoſe who appeared moſt devoted to his ſervice, from treating what, with the greateſt circumſpection, he had entruſted them with, as wild and extravagant chimeras? But nothing diſcouraged Henry, who was an able politician and a better judge than all his council, and than all his kingdom, when he perceived that, notwithſtanding all theſe obſtacles, affairs began, both at home and abroad, to appear in a favourable ſituation, he then conſidered the ſucceſs as infallible.

Nor will this his judgment, when thoroughly conſidered, be found ſo preſumptuous as, from a ſlight examination, it may to ſome appear. For what did he hereby require of Europe? Nothing more than that it ſhould promote the means by which he propoſed to fix in the poſition, towards which, by his efforts, it for ſome time had tended. Theſe means he rendered ſo eaſy to execute, that it would ſcarce require what many of the princes of Europe would voluntarily ſacrifice, for advantages much leſs real, leſs certain, and leſs durable. What they would gain by it, beſides the ineſtimable benefits ariſing from peace, would greatly exceed all the expences they would be at. What reaſon then could any of them have to oppoſe it? and, if they did not oppoſe it, how could the houſe of Auſtria ſupport itſelf againſt powers, in whom the deſire and pleaſure of depriving it of that ſtrength which it had uſed only to oppreſs them, would have raiſed againſt it as many open as it had ſecret enemies; that is, all Europe entire? Nor would theſe princes have any reaſon to be jealous of the reſtorer of their liberty; for he was ſo far from ſeeking to re-imburſe himſelf for all the expences which his generoſity would hereby engage him in, that his intention was voluntarily and for ever to relinquiſh all power of augmenting his dominions; not only by conqueſt, but by all other juſt and lawful means. By this he would have diſcovered the ſecret to convince all his neighbours that his whole deſign was to ſave, both himſelf and them, thoſe immenſe ſums which the maintenance of ſo many thouſand ſoldiers, ſo many fortified places, and ſo many military expences require; to free them for ever from the fear of thoſe bloody cataſtrophes

ſo common in Europe; to procure them an uninterrupted repoſe; and, finally, to unite them all in an indiſſoluble bond of ſecurity and friendſhip, after which they might live together like brethren, and reciprocally viſit like good neighbours, without the trouble of ceremony, and without the expence of a train of attendants, which princes uſe at beſt only for oſtentation, and frequently to conceal their miſery. Does it not indeed reflect ſhame and reproach on a people who affect to be ſo poliſhed and refined in their manners, that all their pretended improvements have not yet (I will not ſay procured them tranquillity, but only) guarded them from theſe barbarities which they deteſt in nations the moſt ſavage and uncultivated? and to deſtroy theſe pernicious ſeeds of confuſion and diſorder, and to prevent the barbarities of which they are the cauſe, could any ſcheme have been more happily and perfectly contrived that of Henry the Great?

Here then is all that could be reaſonably expected or required. It is only in the power of man to prepare and act, ſucceſs is the work of a more mighty hand. Senſible people cannot be blamed for being prejudiced in favour of the ſcheme in queſtion, from this circumſtance only, that it was formed by the two potentates whom poſterity will always conſider as the moſt perfect models of the art of governing. In regard to Henry in particular, I inſiſt that it belongs only to princes, who, like him, have had a conſtant ſucceſſion of obſtacles to encounter in all their deſigns. Theſe, I ſay, are the princes who alone are privileged to judge what are real obſtacles; and, when we behold them willing to lay down their lives in ſupport of their opinions, ſurely we may abide by their ſentiments, without fear of being deceived. For my own part, I ſhall always think with regret, that France, by the blow which it received from the loſs of this great prince, was deprived of a glory far ſuperior to that which his reign had acquired *. There remains only to explain the ſeveral parts of the deſign, and the manner in which they were to be executed. We will begin by what relates to religion.

Two religions principally prevail in Chriſtendom, the roman and the reformed; but, as this latter admits of ſeveral variations in its worſhip,

* From hence we may diſcover what credit ſhould be given to Siri, when he ſays, that the ſole paſſion of Henry the Great was to amaſs riches; that his miniſter forced him into the deſign againſt his inclination; and that the duke of Sully, whom he believes to be the ſole author of it, was himſelf prepoſſeſſed in its favour only from mere obſtinacy, or perhaps from motives of ſelf-intereſt.

which

which render it, if not as different from itſelf as from the roman, at leaſt as far from being re-united, it is therefore neceſſary to divide it in two, one of which may be called the reformed, and the other the proteſtant religion. The manner in which theſe three religions prevail in Europe is extremely various. Italy and Spain remain in poſſeſſion of the roman religion, pure and without mixture of any other. The reformed religion ſubſiſts in France with the roman, only under favour of the edicts, and is the weakeſt. England, Denmark, Sweden, the Low-Countries, and Switzerland, have alſo a mixture of the ſame kind, but with this difference, that in them the proteſtant is the governing religion, the others are only tolerated. Germany unites all theſe, and even in ſeveral of its circles, as well as in Poland, ſhews them equal favour. I ſay nothing of Muſcovy and Ruſſia. Theſe vaſt countries, which are not leſs than ſix hundred leagues in length, and four hundred in breadth, being in great part ſtill idolaters, and in part ſchiſmatics, ſuch as Greeks and Armenians, who have introduced ſo many ſuperſtitious practices in their worſhip, that there ſcarce remains any conformity with us among them; beſides, that they belong to Aſia at leaſt as much as to Europe, we may indeed almoſt conſider them as a barbarous country, and place them in the ſame claſs with Turkey, though for theſe five hundred years, we have ranked them among the chriſtian powers.

Each of theſe three religions being now eſtabliſhed in Europe, in ſuch a manner that there is not the leaſt appearance that any of them can be deſtroyed, and experience having ſufficiently demonſtrated the inutility and danger of ſuch an enterprize, the beſt therefore that can be done, is to preſerve, and even ſtrengthen all of them in ſuch a manner, nevertheleſs, that this indulgence may not become an encouragement to the production of new ſects or opinions, which ſhould carefully be ſuppreſſed on their firſt appearance. God himſelf, by manifeſtly ſupporting what the catholics were pleaſed to call the new religion, has taught us this conduct, which is not leſs conformable to the Holy Scripture, than confirmed by its examples; and, beſides, the unſurmountable difficulty of forcing the pope's authority to be received in thoſe places where it is no longer acknowledged, renders what is here propoſed abſolutely neceſſary. Several cardinals equally ſagacious and zealous, and even ſome popes, as Clement VIII. and Paul V. were of this opinion.

All, therefore, that remains now to be done, is to ſtrengthen the nations, who have made choice of one of theſe religions, in the principles they profeſs, as there is nothing in all reſpects ſo pernicious as a liberty in belief; and thoſe nations, whoſe inhabitants profeſs ſeveral, or all theſe religions, ſhould be careful to obſerve thoſe rules which they find neceſſary to remedy the ordinary inconveniences of a toleration, which, in other reſpects, they probably experience to be beneficial. Italy, therefore, profeſſing the roman religion, and being moreover the reſidence of the popes, ſhould preſerve this religion in all its purity, and there would be no hardſhip in obliging all its inhabitants, either to conform to it, or quit the country. The ſame regulations, very nearly, might be obſerved in regard to Spain. In ſuch ſtates as that of France, where there is at leaſt a governing religion, whoever ſhould think the regulation too ſevere, by which calviniſm would be always ſubordinate to the religion of their prince, might be permitted to depart the country. No new regulations would be neceſſary in any of the other nations; no violence on this account, but liberty unreſtrained, ſeeing this liberty is become even a fundamental principle in their governments.

Thus we may perceive every thing on this head might be reduced to a few maxims, ſo much the more certain and invariable, as they were not contrary to the ſentiments of any one. The proteſtants are very far from pretending to force their religion upon any of their neighbours, by whom it is not voluntarily embraced. The catholics, doubtleſs, are of the ſame ſentiments, and the pope would receive no injury in being deprived of what he confeſſes himſelf not to have poſſeſſed for a long time. His ſacrificing theſe chimerical rights would be abundantly compenſated by the regal dignity with which it would be proper to inveſt him, and by the honour of being afterwards the common mediator between all the chriſtian princes, a dignity which he would then enjoy without jealouſy, and for which it muſt be confeſſed this court, by its ſagacious conduct, has ſhewn itſelf the moſt proper of any.

Another point of the political ſcheme, which alſo concerns religion, relates to the infidel princes of Europe, and conſiſts in forcing thoſe entirely out of it who refuſe to conform to any of the chriſtian doctrines of religion. Should the grand duke of Tuſcany, or czar of Ruſſia, who is believed to be the ancient khan of Scythia, refuſe to enter

enter into the aſſociation after it is propoſed to him, he ought to be treated like the Sultan of Turkey, deprived of his poſſeſſions in Europe, and confined to Aſia only, where he might, as long as he pleaſed, without any interruption from us, continue the wars in which he is almoſt conſtantly engaged againſt the Turks and Perſians.

To ſucceed in the execution of this, which will not appear difficult, if we ſuppoſe that all the chriſtian princes unanimouſly concurred in it, it would only be neceſſary for each of them to contribute, in proportion to their ſeveral abilities, towards the ſupport of the forces, and all the other incidental expences, which the ſucceſs of ſuch an enterprize might require. Theſe reſpective quotas were to have been determined by a general council, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. The following is what Henry the Great had himſelf conceived on this head. The pope for this expedition ſhould have furniſhed eight thouſand foot, twelve hundred horſe, ten cannons, and ten gallies; the emperor and the circles of Germany, ſixty thouſand foot, twenty thouſand horſe, five large cannons, and ten gallies or other veſſels; the king of France twenty thouſand foot, four thouſand horſe, twenty cannons, and ten ſhips or gallies; Spain, Britain, Denmark, Sweden, and Poland, the like number with France, obſerving only, that theſe powers ſhould together ſupply what belonged to the ſea ſervice in the manner moſt ſuitable to their reſpective conveniences and abilities therein; the king of Bohemia five thouſand foot, fifteen hundred horſe, and five cannons; the king of Hungary twelve thouſand foot, five thouſand horſe, twenty cannons, and ſix ſhips; the duke of Savoy, or king of Lombardy, eight thouſand foot, fifteen hundred horſe, eight cannons, and ſix gallies; the republic of Venice ten thouſand foot, twelve hundred horſe, ten cannons, and twenty-five gallies; the republic of the Swiſs cantons, fifteen thouſand foot, five thouſand horſe, and twelve cannons; the republic of Holland twelve thouſand foot, twelve hundred horſe, twelve cannons, and twelve ſhips; the Italian republics ten thouſand foot, twelve hundred horſe, ten cannons, and eight gallies; the whole together amounting to about two hundred and ſeventy thouſand foot, fifty thouſand horſe, two hundred cannons, and one hundred and twenty ſhips or gallies, equipped and maintained at the expence of all thoſe powers, each contributing according to his particular proportion.

This armament of the princes and ſtates of Europe appear ſo inconſiderable and ſo little burdenſome, when compared with the forces which they uſually keep on foot to awe their neighbours, or perhaps their

their own ſubjects, that were it to have ſubſiſted, even perpetually, it would not have occaſioned any inconvenience, and would have been an excellent military academy; but, beſides that the enterprizes for which it was deſtined, would not always have continued: the number and expence of it might have been diminiſhed in proportion to the neceſſities, which would always have been the ſame. Though I am perſuaded ſuch an armament would have been ſo highly approved of by all theſe princes, that, after they had conquered with it whatever they would not that any ſtranger ſhould ſhare with them in Europe, they would have fought to join to it ſuch parts of Aſia as were moſt commodiouſly ſituated, and particularly the whole coaſt of Africa, which is too near to our own territories for us not to be frequently incommoded by it. The only precaution to be obſerved in regard to theſe additional countries, would have been to form them into new kingdoms, declare them united with the reſt of the chriſtian powers, and beſtow them on different princes; carefully obſerving to exclude thoſe who before bore rank among the ſovereigns of Europe.

That part of the deſign which may be conſidered as purely political, turned almoſt entirely on a firſt preliminary, which, I think, would not have met with more difficulty than the preceding article. This was to diveſt the houſe of Auſtria of the empire, and of all the poſſeſſions in Germany, Italy, and the Low-Countries: in a word, to reduce it to the ſole kingdom of Spain, bounded by the ocean, the Mediterranean, and the Pyrenean mountains. But that it might, nevertheleſs, be equally powerful with the other ſovereignties of Europe, it ſhould have Sardinia, Majorca, Minorca; and, in the other iſlands on its own coaſts, the Canaries, the Azores, and Cape-Verd, with its poſſeſſions in Africa, Mexico, and the American iſlands which belong to it: countries, which alone might ſuffice to found great kingdoms: finally, the Philippines, Goa, the Moluccas, and its other poſſeſſions in Aſia.

From hence a method ſeems to preſent itſelf, whereby the houſe of Auſtria might be made amends for what it would be deprived of in Europe, which is to increaſe its dominions in the three other parts of the world, by aſſiſting it to obtain, and by declaring it the ſole proprietor, both of what we do know, and what we may hereafter diſcover in thoſe parts. We may ſuppoſe, that on this occaſion, it would not have been neceſſary to uſe force to bring this houſe to concur in ſuch a deſign: and, indeed, even on this ſuppoſition, it was not the prince of this houſe

reigning in Spain, to whom these parts of the world were to be subjected, but to different princes, of the same or of different branches, who in acknowledgment of their possessions, should only have rendered homage to the crown of Spain, or, at most, a tribute, as due to the original conquerors. This house, which is so very desirous of being the most powerful in the world, might hereby have continued to flatter itself with so pleasing a preheminence, without the other powers being endangered by its pretended grandeur.

The steps taken by the house of Austria to arrive at universal monarchy, which evidently appears from the whole conduct of Charles V. and his son, have rendered this severity as just as it is necessary; and I will venture to say, that this house would not have had any reasonable cause to complain of it. It is true, it would be deprived of the empire; but when impartially considered, it will appear that all the other princes of Germany, and even of Europe, have an equal right to it. Were it necessary to prove this, we need only recollect on what conditions Charles V. himself, the most powerful of them all, was acknowledged emperor; conditions, which, at Smalcalde, he solemnly swore to observe, in presence of seven princes or electors, and the deputies of twenty-four protestant towns; the landgrave of Hesse and the prince of Anhalt being speakers for them all. He swore, I say, never to act contrary to the established laws of the empire, particularly the famous golden bull, obtained under Charles IV. unless it were to amplify them, and even that only with the express consent and advice of the sovereign princes of Germany; not to infringe nor deprive them of any of their privileges; not to introduce foreigners into their council; not to make either war or peace without their consent; not to bestow honours and employments but on natives of Germany; not to use any other but the German language in all writings; not to levy any taxes by his own authority, nor apply any conquests which might be made, to his own particular profit. He, in particular, formally renounced all pretences of hereditary right in his house to the imperial dignity; and, according to the several articles of the golden bull, he swore never in his life-time to recognize a king of the Romans. When the protestants of Germany, after they had in a manner driven Ferdinand out of it, consented to have the imperial crown placed on his head, they were careful to make him renew his engagements in regard to all these articles, and to all these new regulations relative to the free exercise of their religion.

As

As to the poſſeſſions of the houſe of Auſtria in Germany, Italy, and the Low-Countries, of which it was to be deprived, not to mention here how much it is indebted for them to a tyrannical uſurpation, it would, after all, be only depriving it of territories which it keeps at ſo prodigious an expence (I ſpeak, in particular, of Italy and the Low-Countries) as all its treaſures of the Indies have not been able to defray: and beſides, by inveſting it with the excluſive privilege above-mentioned, of gaining new eſtabliſhments, and appropriating to its own uſe the mines and treaſures of the three other parts of the world, it would be abundantly indemnified; for theſe new acquiſitions would be at leaſt as conſiderable, and undoubtedly far more rich, than thoſe. But what is here propoſed muſt not be underſtood as if the other nations of Europe were excluded from all commerce to thoſe countries; on the contrary, it ſhould be free and open to every one, and the houſe of Auſtria, inſtead of conſidering this ſtipulation, which is of the greateſt conſequence, as an infringement of its privileges, would rather have reaſon to regard it as a farther advantage.

From a farther examination and conſideration of theſe diſpoſitions, I do not doubt but the houſe of Auſtria would have accepted the propoſed conditions without being forced to it: but, ſuppoſing the contrary, what would a reſiſtance have ſignified? The promiſe made to all the princes of Europe, of enriching themſelves by the territories of which this houſe was to be diveſted, would deprive it of all hopes of aſſiſtance from any of them.

Upon the whole then it appears, that all parties would have been gainers by it, and this was what aſſured Henry the Great of the ſucceſs of his deſign: the empire would again become a dignity to which all princes, but particularly thoſe of Germany, might aſpire: and this dignity would be ſo much the more deſirable, though, according to its original inſtitution, no revenues would be annexed to it, as the emperor would be declared the firſt and chief magiſtrate of the whole chriſtian republic; and as we may ſuppoſe this honour would afterwards be conferred only on the moſt worthy, all his privileges in this reſpect, inſtead of being diminiſhed, would be enlarged, his authority over the Belgic and Helvetic republics would be more conſiderable, and upon every new election they would be obliged to render him a reſpectful homage. The electors would ſtill continue to enjoy the right of electing the emperor, as well as of maintaining the king of the Romans; with this re-

ſtriction only, That the election ſhould not be made twice together out of the ſame family. The firſt to have been elected in this manner, was the elector of Bavaria, who was alſo, in conſequence of the partition, to have had thoſe territories poſſeſſed by the houſe of Auſtria which joined to his own on the ſide of Italy.

The reſt of theſe territories were to have been divided and equally diſtributed by the kings of France, England, Denmark, and Sweden, among the Venetians, the Griſons, the duke of Wirtemberg, and the marquis of Baden, Anſpach, and Dourlach. Bohemia was to have been conſtituted an elective kingdom, by annexing to it Moravia, Sileſia, and Luſatia. Hungary was alſo to have been an elective kingdom, and the pope, the emperor, the kings of France, England, Denmark, Sweden, and Lombardy, were to have had the right of nomination to it: and becauſe this kingdom may be conſidered as the barrier of Chriſtendom againſt the infidels, it was to have been rendered the moſt powerful and able to reſiſt them; and this was to have been done by immediately adding to it the monarchy of Auſtria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola; and by afterwards incorporating with it whatever might be acquired in Tranſilvania, Boſnia, Sclavonia, and Croatia. The ſame electors were to have obliged themſelves, by oath, to aſſiſt it upon all occaſions; and they were to have been particularly careful never to grant their ſuffrages from partiality, artifice, or intrigue; but always to confer the dignity on a prince who, by his great qualifications, particularly for war, ſhould be generally acknowledged as moſt proper. Poland being, from its nearneſs to Turkey, Muſcovy, and Tartary, in the ſame ſituation with Hungary, was alſo to have been an elective kingdom, by the ſame eight potentates; and its power was to have been augmented, by annexing to it whatever ſhould be conquered from the infidels adjoining to its own frontiers, and by determining in its favour thoſe diſputes which it had with all its other neighbours. Switzerland, when augmented by Franche-compté, Alſace, Tirol, and other territories, was to have been united into a ſovereign republic, governed by a council or ſenate, of which the emperor, the princes of Germany, and the Venetians, were to have been umpires.

The changes to be made in Italy were, that the pope ſhould be declared a ſecular prince, and bear rank among the monarchs of Europe, and under this title ſhould poſſeſs Naples, Apulia, Calabria, and all their dependencies, which ſhould be indiſſolubly united to St. Peter's patrimony: but in caſe the holy father had oppoſed this, which indeed could ſcarce

ſcarce have been ſuppoſed, the diſpoſition muſt then have been changed, and the kingdom of Naples would have been divided and diſpoſed as the electoral king ſhould have determined. Sicily was to have been ceded to the republic of Venice, by letters from the ſame eight principal potentates, upon condition that it ſhould render homage for it to every pope, who ſhould bear the title of Immediate chief of the whole Italian republic; otherwiſe, for this reaſon, called The republic of the church. The other members of this republic were to have been Genoa, Florence, Mantua, Modena, Parma, and Lucca, without any alterations in their government: Bologna and Ferrara were to have been rendered free cities; and all theſe governments were every twenty years to have rendered homage to the pope their chief, by the gift of a crucifix of the value of ten thouſand crowns.

Of the three great republics of Europe, it appears, upon the firſt glance, that this would have been the moſt brilliant and the richeſt. Nevertheleſs, it would not have been ſo; for what belonged to the duke of Savoy was not comprized herein. His territories were to have been conſtituted one of the greateſt monarchies of Europe, hereditary to males and females, and to have born the title of the kingdom of Lombardy; wherein, beſide the territory ſo called, the Milaneſe and Montferrat would alſo have been comprized; and the duke of Mantua, in exchange for theſe, was to have the duchy of Cremona. An authentic teſtimony of the inſtitution would have been given by the pope, the emperor, and the other ſovereigns of the chriſtian republic.

Among all theſe different diſmemberings, we may obſerve that France received nothing for itſelf, but the glory of diſtributing them with equity. Henry had declared this to be his intention long before. He even ſometimes ſaid, with equal moderation and good ſenſe, that were theſe diſpoſitions once firmly eſtabliſhed, he would have voluntarily conſented to have the extent of France determined by a majority of ſuffrages *. Nevertheleſs, as the diſtricts of Artois, Hainault, Cambray, Cambreſis, Tournay, Namure, and Luxembourg, might more ſuitably be annexed to France than any other nation, they were to have been ceded to Henry; but to have been divided into ten diſtinct go-

* What then does Siri mean, when he entertains us with the deſign which he falſly affirms Henry the Great had to join Lorrain to France, tom. I. p. 555? and to get Savoy ceded to him, tom. II. p. 61? What he ſays of the diſpoſitions, in regard to the Pope and the Venetians, &c. tom. II. p. 180, is equally falſe. This writer ſeems indeed to have been in the pay of the houſe of Auſtria.

verniments,

vernments, and beſtowed on ſo many French princes or lords, all of them bearing rank as ſovereigns.

In regard to England it was preciſely the ſame: this was a determined point between Elizabeth and Henry, the two princes who were authors of the ſcheme, probably from an obſervation made by this queen, that the Britannic iſles, in all the different ſtates through which they had paſſed, whether under one or ſeveral monarchs, elective, hereditary, maſculine, or feminine, and among all the variations of their laws and policy, had never experienced any great diſappointments or misfortunes, but when their ſovereigns had meddled in affairs out of their little continent. It ſeems, indeed, as if they were concentered in it even by nature, and their happineſs appears to depend entirely on themſelves, without having any concerns with their neighbours, provided that they ſeek only to maintain peace in the three nations ſubject to them, by governing each according to its own laws and cuſtoms. To render every thing equal between France and England, Brabant from the duchy of Limbourg, the juriſdiction of Malines, and the other dependencies on Flemiſh Flanders, Gallican or Imperial, were to have been formed into eight ſovereign fiefs, to be given to ſo many princes or lords of this nation.

These two parts excepted, all the reſt of the ſeventeen United Provinces, whether belonging to Spain or not, were to have been erected into a free and independent ſtate, under the title of the Belgic republic; though there was one other fief to be formed from them, bearing the title of a principality, to be granted to the prince of Orange; alſo ſome other inconſiderable indemnities for three or four other perſons. The ſucceſſion of Cleves was to have been divided among thoſe princes whom the emperor would have deprived of it, as the means whereby to gratify them at the expence of the houſe of Auſtria, as well as ſome other princes of the ſame diſtrict, to whom the imperial towns ſituated therein, would have been granted. Even Sweden and Denmark, though they were to be conſidered as under the influence of the ſame law which England and France had impoſed on themſelves, would, by this diſtribution, have enlarged their territories, and acquired other conſiderable advantages. An end would have been put to the perpetual trouble which agitated theſe two kingdoms; and this, I think, would have been rendering them no inconſiderable ſervice. All theſe ceſſions, exchanges, and tranſpoſitions towards the north of Germany, were to have

have been determined by the kings of France, England, Lombardy, and the republic of Venice.

AND now perhaps the purport of the deſign may be perceived, which was to divide Europe equally among a certain number of powers, in ſuch a manner, that none of them might have cauſe either of envy or fear, from the poſſeſſions or power of the others. The number of them was reduced to fifteen; and they were of three kinds: ſix great hereditary monarchies, five elective monarchies, and four ſovereign republics. The ſix hereditary monarchies were France, Spain, England or Britain, Denmark, Sweden, and Lombardy; the five elective monarchies were the Empire, the Papacy or Pontificate, Poland, Hungary, and Bohemia; the four republics were, the Venetian, the Italian, or what, from its dukes, may be called the ducal, the Swiſs, Helvetic or Confederate, and the Belgic or Provincial republic.

THE laws and ordinances proper to cement an union between all theſe princes, and to maintain that harmony which ſhould be once eſtabliſhed among them, the reciprocal oaths and engagements in regard both to religion and policy, the mutual aſſurances in reſpect to the freedom of commerce, and the meaſures to be taken to make all theſe partitions with equity, and to the general content and ſatisfaction of the parties: all theſe matters are to be underſtood; nor is it neceſſary to ſay any thing of the precaution taken by Henry in regard to them. The moſt that could have happened would have been ſome trifling difficulties, which would eaſily have been obviated in the general council, repreſenting all the ſtates of Europe; the eſtabliſhment of which was certainly the happieſt invention that could have been conceived, to prevent thoſe innovations which time often introduces in the wiſeſt and moſt uſeful inſtitutions.

THE model of this general council of Europe had been formed on that of the ancient Amphictyons of Greece, with ſuch alterations only as rendered it ſuitable to our cuſtoms, climate, and policy. It conſiſted of a certain number of commiſſaries, miniſters, or plenipotentiaries from all the governments of the chriſtian republic, who were to be conſtantly aſſembled as a ſenate, to deliberate on any affairs which might occur; to diſcuſs the different intereſts, pacify the quarrels, clear up and determine all the civil, political, and religious affairs of Europe, whether within itſelf or with its neighbours. The form and manner of proceeding

proceeding in the ſenate would have been more particularly determined by the ſuffrages of the ſenate itſelf. Henry was of opinion that it ſhould be compoſed of four commiſſaries from each of the following potentates: The Emperor, the Pope, the kings of France, Spain, England, Denmark, Sweden, Lombardy, Poland, and the republic of Venice; and of two only from the other republics and inferior powers, which all together would have compoſed a ſenate of about ſixty-ſix perſons, who ſhould have been rechoſe every three years.

In regard to the place of meeting, it remained to have been determined, whether it would be better for the council to be fixed or ambulatory, divided in three, or united into one. If it were divided into three, each containing twenty-two magiſtrates, then each of them muſt have been fixed in ſuch a center as ſhould appear to be moſt commodious, as Paris or Bourges for one, and ſomewhere about Trente and Cracovia for the two others. If it were judged more expedient not to divide their aſſembly, whether fixed or ambulatory, it muſt have been nearly in the center of Europe, and would conſequently have been fixed in ſome one of the fourteen cities following: Metz, Luxembourg, Nancy, Cologne, Mayence, Treves, Francfort, Wirtzbourg, Heidelberg, Spire, Straſbourg, Bale, Bizancon.

Besides this general council, it would perhaps have been proper to have conſtituted ſome others, of an inferior degree, for the particular convenience of different diſtricts. For example, were ſix ſuch created, they might have been placed at Dantzick, Nuremberg, Vienna, Bologna, Conſtance; and the laſt, wherever it ſhould be judged moſt convenient for the kingdoms of France, Spain, England, and the Belgic republic. But whatever the number or form of theſe particular councils might have been, it would have been abſolutely neceſſary, that they ſhould be ſubordinate, and recur, by appeal, to the great general council, whoſe deciſions, when conſidered as proceeding from the united authority of all the ſovereigns, pronounced in a manner equally free and abſolute, muſt have been regarded as ſo many final and irrevocable decrees.

But let us quit theſe ſpeculative deſigns, in which practice and experience would perhaps have cauſed many alterations; and let us come to the means actually employed by Henry to facilitate the execution of his great deſign.

To gain one of the moſt powerful princes of Europe, with whom to concert all his deſigns, was what Henry had always conſidered as of the utmoſt conſequence: and this was the reaſon, that after the death of Elizabeth, who had indiſſolubly united the intereſt of the two crowns of France and England, every means was uſed which might inſpire her ſucceſſor, king James, with all her ſentiments. Had I but ſucceeded in the ſolemn embaſſy, the particulars of which I have related already, ſo far as to have gained this prince's conſent to have his name appear openly with Henry's, this military confederacy, eſpecially if it had, in like manner, been ſtrengthened with the names of the kings of Denmark and Sweden, would have prevented the troubles and difficulties of many negotiations: but nothing farther could be obtained of the king of England, than the ſame promiſes which were required of the other courts; namely, that he would not only not oppoſe the confederacy, but when Henry had made his deſigns public, would declare himſelf in his favour, and contribute towards it in the ſame manner as the other powers intereſted therein. A means was, indeed, afterwards found to obtain the execution of this promiſe, in a manner ſo much the more eaſy, as it did not diſturb the natural indolence of this prince; and this was, by getting what he heſitated to undertake in his own name, executed by his ſon, the prince of Wales, who, as ſoon as he had obtained his father's promiſe, that he would at leaſt not obſtruct his proceedings, prevented Henry's utmoſt wiſhes; being animated with a thirſt of glory, and deſire to render himſelf worthy the eſteem and alliance of Henry; for he was to marry the eldeſt of the daughters of France. He wrote me ſeveral letters upon this ſubject, and expreſſed himſelf in the manner I have mentioned. He alſo farther ſaid, that the king of France might depend on having ſix thouſand foot and fifteen hundred horſe, which he would oblige himſelf to bring into his ſervice whenever they ſhould be required: and this number was afterwards augmented by two thouſand more foot, and eight cannons, maintained in all reſpects at the expence of England for three years at leaſt. The king of Sweden did not ſhew himſelf leſs zealous for the common cauſe; and the king of Denmark alſo appeared to be equally well diſpoſed in its favour.

In the mean time we were indefatigable in our negotiations in the different courts of Europe, particularly in the circles of Germany and the United Provinces, where the king, for this purpoſe, had ſent Boiſſiſe, Freſne-Canaye, Baugy, Ancel, and Bongars. The council of the

States were very ſoon unanimous in their determinations: the prince of Orange ſent the ſieurs Malderet and Brederode from them, to offer the king fifteen thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe. They were ſoon followed by the landgrave of Heſſe, and the prince of Anhalt, to whom, as well as to the prince of Orange, the confederacy was obliged for being increaſed by the duke of Savoy; by all of the reformed religion in Hungary, Bohemia, and Lower Auſtria; by many proteſtant princes and towns in Germany; in fine, by all the Swiſs Cantons of this religion. And when the ſucceſſion of Cleves, which the Emperor ſhewed himſelf diſpoſed to uſurp, became another incentive to the confederacy, there was then ſcarce any part of Germany that was not for us; which evidently appeared from the reſult of the general aſſembly at Hall. The elector of Saxony, who perhaps remained alone of the oppoſite party, might have been embarraſſed in an affair, out of which he would probably have found it difficult to extricate himſelf; and this was to have been done, by ſuggeſting to him the branch of John Frederic, deprived of this electorate by Charles V.

There were ſeveral of theſe powers, in regard to whom I am perſuaded nothing would have been riſked, by diſcloſing to them the whole intent and ſcope of the deſign. On the contrary, they would probably have ſeconded it with the greater ardour, when they found the deſtruction of the Auſtrian grandeur was a determined point. Theſe powers were, more particularly, the Venetians, the United Provinces, almoſt all the proteſtants, and eſpecially the evangelics of Germany. But as too many precautions could not be taken, to prevent the catholic powers from being prejudiced againſt the new alliance in which they were to be engaged; a too haſty diſcovery, either of the true motives, or the whole intent of the deſign, was therefore cautiouſly avoided. It was at firſt concealed from all without exception, and afterwards revealed but to a few perſons of approved diſcretion, and thoſe only ſuch as were abſolutely neceſſary to engage others to join the confederacy. The aſſociation was for a long time ſpoke of to others only as a kind of general treaty of peace, wherein ſuch methods would be projected, as the public benefit, and the general ſervice of Europe, might ſuggeſt as neceſſary to ſtop the progreſs of the exceſſive power of the houſe of Auſtria. Our ambaſſadors and agents had orders only to demand of theſe princes a renewal or commencement of alliance, in order more effectually to ſucceed in the projected peace; to conſult with them upon the means whereby to effect it; to appear as if they were ſent only, in conjunction with them, to endeavour

vour the diſcovery of theſe means; but yet to ſecond them, and according to the diſpoſition in which they were, to inſinuate, as if by accidental conjecture, ſome notion of a new method more proper to maintain the equilibrium of Europe, and to ſecure to each religion a more undiſturbed repoſe than they had hitherto enjoyed. The propoſals made to the kings of England and Sweden, and the dukes of Savoy and Lorrain, for alliances by marriage, proved very ſucceſsful: it was abſolutely determined, that the Dauphin ſhould eſpouſe the heireſs of Lorrain, which duchy ſtill continued, as before, to depend on the Empire.

But no precaution appeared ſo neceſſary, nor was more ſtrongly recommended to our negotiators, than to convince all the princes of Europe of the diſintereſtedneſs with which Henry was reſolved to act on this occaſion. This point was indefatigably laboured, and they were convinced of it, when, on the ſuppoſition that it would be neceſſary to have recourſe to arms, we ſtrongly proteſted, that the forces, the treaſures, and even the perſon of Henry, might be depended on; and this in a manner ſo generous on his ſide, that, inſtead of expecting to be rewarded, or even indemnified for them, he was voluntarily inclined to give the moſt poſitive aſſurances, not to reſerve to himſelf a ſingle town, nor the ſmalleſt diſtrict. This moderation, of which at laſt no one doubted, made a ſuitable impreſſion, eſpecially when it was perceived to be ſo much the more generous, as there was ſufficient to excite and ſatisfy the deſires of all. And, in the interim, before the ſolemn publication of this abſolute renunciation, which was to have been made in the manifeſtoes that were preparing, Henry gave a proof of it, that was an abſolute demonſtration to the pope.

No one being ignorant that as it was, at leaſt, intended to deprive Spain of thoſe of its uſurpations which were the moſt manifeſtly unjuſt; Navarre and Rouſſillon would infallibly revert to France; the king therefore voluntarily offered to exchange them for the two kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; and at the ſame time to make a preſent of both to the Pope and the republic of Venice. This, certainly, was renouncing the moſt inconteſtible right he could have to any of the territories of which this crown was to be deprived; and by ſubmitting this affair, as he did, to the determination of the Pope and the Venetians, he the more ſenſibly obliged them, as both the honour and profit which might ariſe therefrom would be in their favour. The Pope, therefore, on the firſt propoſition made to him, even prevented Henry's

intentions; he immediately demanded, whether, as affairs were then circumſtanced, the ſeveral powers would approve his taking upon him the office of common mediator, to eſtabliſh peace in Europe, and convert the continual wars among its ſeveral princes, into a perpetual war againſt the infidels; which was a part of the deſign he had been very careful to acquaint him with: and the Pope ſufficiently ſhewed, that he was deſirous nothing ſhould be done without his participation; and that he was ſtill leſs diſpoſed to refuſe the advantage offered to him.

Paul V. when a favourable opportunity offered, explained himſelf more openly on this head. Ubaldini, his nuncio, told the king, that his holineſs, for the confederacy againſt the houſe of Auſtria, would, on various pretences, engage to raiſe ten thouſand foot, fifteen hundred horſe, and ten cannons; provided that his majeſty would promiſe to defray the neceſſary expences of their ſubſiſtence for three years; would give all poſſible ſecurity for the ceſſion of Naples, and the other rights of homage, according to promiſe; and would ſincerely conſent to the other conditions, in regard to the treaty which he ſhould think neceſſary to impoſe. Theſe conditions, at leaſt the principal of them, were, that only catholics ſhould be elected emperors; that the roman religion ſhould be maintained in all its rights, and the eccleſiaſtics in all their privileges and immunities; and the proteſtants ſhould not be permitted to eſtabliſh themſelves in places where they were not eſtabliſhed before the treaty. The king promiſed Ubaldini, that he would religiouſly obſerve all theſe conditions; and farther, he relinquiſhed to the Pope the honour of being the arbitrator of all thoſe regulations to be made in the eſtabliſhment of the new republic.

The removing of theſe difficulties in regard to the Pope, was of no inconſiderable conſequence; for his example would not fail to be of great force in determining the other catholic powers, eſpecially thoſe of Italy. Nothing was neglected which might promote the favourable diſpoſitions in which they appeared to be, by punctually paying the cardinals and petty princes of Italy their penſions, and even by adding to them ſeveral other gratuities. The eſtabliſhment of a new monarchy in Italy was the only pretence theſe petty courts had for not joining in the confederacy; but this vain apprehenſion would be eaſily diſſipated. The particular advantages which each would acquire, might alone have ſatisfied them in this reſpect; but if not, all oppoſers might have been threatened with being declared, after a certain time, diveſted of

of all right to the propoſed advantages, and even of all pretenſions to the empire, or the elective kingdoms; and that the republics amongſt them ſhould be converted into ſovereignties, and ſovereignties into republics. There is but little probability that any of them would even have demurred what to do. The puniſhment of the firſt offender would have compelled the ſubmiſſion of all theſe petty ſtates, who were beſides ſufficiently ſenſible of their importance. But this method was not to be uſed but on failure of all others; and even then, no opportunity would have been neglected of ſhewing them favour.

And now we are arrived at the point to which every thing was advanced, at the fatal moment of the death of Henry the Great; and the following is a circumſtantial detail of the forces for the war, which all the parties concerned had, in conjunction with him, agreed to furniſh: The contingents of the kings of England, Sweden, and Denmark, were each eight thouſand foot, fifteen hundred horſe, and eight cannons; to be raiſed and maintained, in all reſpects, at their expence, at leaſt for three years; and this expence, reckoning ten livres a month for each foot ſoldier, thirty livres for each trooper, the pay of the officers included, and the year to be compoſed of ten months, would amount, for each of theſe ſtates, to three millions three hundred and ſeventy thouſand livres for three years; the expence of the artillery, fifteen hundred livres a month for each piece, being alſo included. The princes of Germany, before mentioned, were to furniſh twenty-five thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and forty cannons: they had themſelves computed the expence at nine or ten millions for three years. The United Provinces, twelve thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and ten cannons: the expence twelve millions. Hungary, Bohemia, and the other evangelics of Germany, the ſame number, and nearly at the ſame expence. The Pope, ten thouſand foot, fifteen hundred horſe, and eight cannons. The duke of Savoy, eighteen thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and twelve cannons. The Venetians, twelve thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and twelve cannons. The expence of theſe laſt mentioned armaments the king himſelf had engaged to defray. The total of all theſe foreign forces, allowing for deficiences, which might probably have happened, would always have been, at leaſt, one hundred thouſand foot, from twenty to twenty-five thouſand horſe, and about one hundred and twenty cannons.

The king, on his ſide, had actually on foot two good and well furniſhed armies; the firſt, which he was to have commanded in perſon, conſiſted of twenty thouſand foot, all native French, eight thouſand Switzers,

Switzers, four thouſand Lanſquenets or Walloons, five thouſand horſe, and twenty cannons. The ſecond, to be commanded by Leſdiguieres, in the neighbourhood of the Alps, conſiſted of ten thouſand foot, one thouſand horſe, and ten cannons; beſides a flying camp, of four thouſand foot, ſix hundred horſe, and ten cannons; and a reſerve of two thouſand foot, to garriſon ſuch places where they might be neceſſary *. We will make a general calculation of all theſe troops.

The twenty thouſand foot, at twenty-one livres a month to each man, including the appointments of generals and officers, would, by the month, require four hundred and twenty thouſand livres, and by the year, five millions and forty thouſand livres; the eight thouſand Switzers and four thouſand Lanſquenets, three millions; the five thouſand horſe, at ſixty livres a month to each, by the month, would require two hundred and forty thouſand livres, and by the year, two millions eight hundred and forty thouſand livres: this computation is made ſo high as ſixty livres a month to each, becauſe the pay of the officers, and particularly of the king's white troops, compoſed of a thouſand men of the firſt rank in the kingdom, who ſerved as volunteers, was therein included. The expence of the twenty large cannons, ſix culverins, and four demi-culverins, ſuppoſing all neceſſary furniture for them provided, would amount to three thouſand ſix hundred livres a month for each piece; the thirty together would conſequently require one hundred and eight thouſand livres. Extraordinary expences and loſſes, in regard to the proviſions and ammunition for his army, might be computed at one hundred and fifty thouſand livres.

And for expences, whether ordinary or extraordinary, in ſpies, for the ſick and wounded, and other unforeſeen contingencies, computing at the higheſt, a like ſum of one million eight hundred thouſand livres. To ſupply the deficiencies which might happen in the armies of the confederate princes, to pay the penſions, and to anſwer other particular exigences which might ariſe in the kingdom, three hundred thouſand livres a month; for the year, three millions ſix hundred thouſand

* There are ſome variations in our Memoirs in regard to the number of men, both in the royal grand army, which, in different places, is ſaid to be compoſed of thirty, thirty-two, and thirty-ſix thouſand foot, of four, five, ſix, and eight thouſand horſe, and from thirty to fifty cannons; and in that of the confederate princes of Germany, ſometimes computed even at forty thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe; ſimilar differences do often occur in regard to thoſe of Italy, and the other confederate princes: neither are the calculations of the expences always the ſame, nor quite juſt in their eſtimates.

livres.

livres. The army of Lesdiguieres would require three millions a year; and as much for each of the armies of the Pope, the Venetians, and the duke of Savoy. These four last articles together, make twelve millions a year; which, added to the preceding sums, amount in the whole to about thirty millions one hundred and sixty thousand livres a year.

It remains only to triple this total for the three years, during which it was supposed there might be occasion for the forces, and the whole amount will appear to be between ninety and ninety-one millions, which might nearly be necessary to defray the expences of the intended war; I say nearly, for in this calculation I have not included the flying camp, nor the two thousand men for garrisons: the first of these two articles, at the rate of eighteen livres a month to each foot soldier, and fifty livres to each trooper, would require a farther sum of about one hundred and thirty thousand livres a month; which, for a year, would be one million five hundred thousand livres, and four millions five hundred thousand livres for three years: the second article for the three years, would require about twelve hundred thousand livres.

On a supposition that the expence of France, on this occasion, would not have amounted to more than between ninety and ninety-five millions; which supposition is far from being hazardous, because we have here computed every thing at the highest it would bear; it is easy to shew, that at the expiration of the three years, Henry would have remaining in his coffers thirty millions over and above what would be expended. The total amount of all the receipts from the several funds, formed and to be formed for these three years, being one hundred twenty-one millions five hundred and forty thousand livres, as appears from the three estimates which I drew up and presented to his majesty.

The first of these estimates, which contained only a list of the sums actually deposited in the Bastile, amounted to twenty-two millions four hundred and sixty thousand livres, in several coffers, marked Phelipeaux, Puget, and Bouhier: the second was another list, of the sums actually due from the farmers, partisans, and receivers-general; which might be considered as in possession, and produced another total of eighteen millions six hundred and thirteen thousand livres; these two totals together made forty-one millions seventy-three thousand livres, which the king would immediately have at his disposal: to acquire the

first

reſt of theſe hundred and twenty-one millions, I had no recourſe, in the third eſtimate, to any new taxations. The whole remainder would ariſe ſolely from the offers of augmentation upon the ſeveral royal revenues which the farmers and partiſans had made for a leaſe of three years, and from what the officers of juſtice and the finances had voluntarily engaged to furniſh, provided they might be permitted the free enjoyment of certain privileges: ſo that in theſe one hundred twenty-one millions, I had not comprehended the three years receipts of the other royal revenues. And in caſe it were afterwards neceſſary to have recourſe to means ſomewhat more burthenſome, I had given the king another eſtimate, whereby, inſtead of theſe one hundred twenty-one millions, it appeared that one hundred ſeventy-five millions might have been raiſed. I alſo demonſtrated, that upon any preſſing emergency, this kingdom could open itſelf reſources of treaſure that are almoſt innumerable.

It was very much to be wiſhed, that the ſums of money and the number of men to be furniſhed by the other confederates, would be equally well ſecured by ſuch eſtimates: but whatever deficiencies might have happened, having forty-one millions to diſtribute where-ever it might be found neceſſary, what obſtacles could Henry have to fear from a power who was known to be deſtitute of money, and even of troops? no one being ignorant, that the beſt and moſt numerous forces which Spain had in its ſervice were drawn from Sicily, Naples, and Lombardy; or elſe were Germans, Switzers, and Walloons.

Every thing therefore concurring to promote ſucceſs, and good magazines being placed in proper parts of the paſſage, the king was on the point of marching, at the head of his army, directly to Mezieres; from whence, taking his rout by Clinchamp, Orchimont, Beauraing, Offais, Longpré, &c. after having cauſed five forts to be erected in theſe quarters, and therein placed his two thouſand men deſtined for that purpoſe, with the neceſſary proviſions and ammunition, he would, near Duren and Stavelo, have joined the two armies, which the princes of Germany and the United Provinces would have cauſed to march thither; and then beginning by occupying all thoſe paſſages through which the enemy might find entrance into the territories of Juliers and Cleves, theſe principalities, which were a pretext for the armament, would conſequently have immediately ſubmitted to him, and would have been ſequeſtrated, till it ſhould appear how the Emperor and the king of Spain would act, in regard to the deſigns of the confederate princes.

This

This was the moment fixed on to publish and make known throughout Europe, the declarations, in form of manifestos, which were to open the eyes of all in regard to their true interests, and the real motives which had caused Henry and the confederate princes thus to take up arms. These manifestos were composed with the greatest care; a spirit of justice, honesty, and good faith, of disinterestedness and good policy, were every where apparent in them: and without wholly discovering the several changes intended to be made in Europe, it was intimated, that their common interest had thus compelled its princes to arm themselves; and not only to prevent the house of Austria from getting possession of Cleves, but also to divest her of the United Provinces, and of whatever else she unjustly possessed; that their intentions were to distribute these territories among such princes and states as were the weakest; that the design was such, as could not surely give occasion to a war in Europe; that, though armed, the kings of France and the North rather chose to be mediators in the causes of complaint which Europe, through them, made against the house of Austria, and only sought amicably to determine all differences subsisting among the several princes; and that whatever was done on this occasion should be not only, with the unanimous consent of all these powers, but even of all their people, who were hereby invited to give in their opinions to the confederate princes: such also would have been the substance of the circular letters which Henry and the associated princes would at the same time have sent to all places subject to them; that so the people being informed, and joining their suffrages, an universal cry from all parts of Christendom would have been raised against the house of Austria.

As it was determined to avoid, with the utmost caution, whatever might give umbrage to any one, and Henry being desirous to give still more convincing proofs to his confederates, that to promote their true interests was his sole study and design; to these letters already mentioned he would have added others to be written to different courts, particularly to the electors of Cologne and Treves, the bishops of Munster, Liege, and Paderborn; and the duke and duchess of Lorrain; and this conduct would have been pursued, in regard even to our enemies, in the letters which were to be written to the arch-duke, and the infanta his wife, to the Emperor himself, and to all the Austrian princes, requesting them, from the strongest and most pressing motives, to embrace the only right and reasonable party; in all places, nothing would

have been neglected, to inſtruct, convince, and gain confidence; the execution of all engagements, and the diſtribution or ſequeſtration of whatever territories might require to be ſo diſpoſed, would have been ſtrictly, and even ſcrupulouſly, obſerved; force would never have been employed, till arguments, intreaties, embaſſies, and negotiations, ſhould have failed; finally, even in the uſe of arms, it would have been not as enemies, but pacifiers; the queen would have advanced as far as Metz, accompanied by the whole court, and attended by ſuch pomp and equipage as were ſuitable only to peace.

Henry had projected a new method of diſcipline in his camp, which very probably, would have produced the good effects intended by it, eſpecially if his example had been imitated by the other princes his allies; he intended to have created four marſhals of France, or at leaſt four camp marſhals, whoſe ſole care ſhould have been to maintain univerſal order, diſcipline, and ſubordination: the firſt of theſe would have had the inſpection of the cavalry, the ſecond of the French infantry, the third of the foreign forces, and the fourth of whatever concerned the artillery, ammunition, and proviſions; and the king would have required an exact and regular account from theſe two officers, of whatever was tranſacted by them in their reſpective diviſions. He applied himſelf with equal ardour to make all military virtues to be revered and honoured in his army, by granting all employs and places of truſt to merit only, by preferring good officers, by rewarding good ſoldiers, by puniſhing blaſphemies and other impious language, by ſhewing a regard both for his own troops and thoſe of his confederates, by ſtifling a ſpirit of diſcord, cauſed by a difference of religions; and, finally, by uniting emulation with that harmony of ſentiments which contributes more than all the reſt to obtain victory.

The conſequence of this enterpriſe, with regard to war, would have depended on the manner in which the Emperor and the king of Spain would receive the propoſitions and reply to the manifeſtos of the confederate princes; it ſeems probable that the Emperor, ſubmitting to force, would have conſented to every thing: I am even perſuaded he would have been the firſt to demand an amicable interview with the king of France, that he might at leaſt extricate himſelf with honour out of the difficulties in which he would have been involved; and he would probably have been ſatisfied with aſſurances, that the imperial dignity, with all its rights and perrogatives, ſhould be ſecured to him for his life. The arch-dukes had made great advances; they engaged to permit

permit the king, with all his troops, to enter their territories and towns, provided they committed no hoſtilities in them, and paid punctually, in all places, for whatever they required: if theſe appearances were not deceitful, Spain being abandoned by all, muſt, though unwillingly, have ſubmitted to the will of its conquerors.

But it may be ſuppoſed, that all the branches of the houſe of Auſtria would, on this occaſion, have united, and, in defence of their common intereſts, would have uſed all the efforts of which they were capable. In this caſe, Henry and the confederate princes, by declaring war in form againſt their enemies, and depriving the Spaniards of all communications, eſpecially with the Low Countries; and having, as we have ſaid, united all their forces, given audience to the princes of Germany, promiſed aſſiſtance to the people of Hungary and Bohemia who ſhould come to implore it of them; and finally, ſecured the territory of Cleves: theſe princes, I ſay, would then have cauſed their three armies to advance towards Bale and Straſbourg to ſupport the Switzers, who after having, for form's ſake, aſked leave of the Emperor, would have declared for the union. The United Provinces, though at a conſiderable diſtance from theſe armies, would yet have been ſufficiently defended by the flying camp, which Henry would have cauſed to advance towards them; by the arms of England and the North, to whoſe protection they would be entruſted; by the care which at firſt would have been taken to get poſſeſſion of Charlemont, Maeſtrich, Namur, and other places near the Meuſe; and finally, by the naval forces of theſe provinces, which in conjunction with thoſe of England would have reigned abſolute maſters at ſea.

These meaſures being taken, the war could have fallen only in Italy or Germany; and ſuppoſing it to have happened in the former, the three armies of Henry, the prince of Orange, and the princes of Germany, quitting Franche-Compté, after having fortified it in the ſame manner as the Low Countries, by a ſmall body of troops, would have marched with their forces towards the Alps, where they would have been joined by thoſe of Leſdiguieres, the Pope, the Venetians, and the duke of Savoy; who then would have declared themſelves openly; the duke of Savoy, by requiring a portion for his ducheſs, equal to what had been given to the infanta Iſabella; and the other powers, by demanding the execution of the agreement in regard to Navarre, Naples, and Sicily: and thus, from all parts of Europe, war

would be declared againſt Spain. If the enemy ſhould appear inclined to draw the war into Germany, then the confederates, having left a conſiderable number of troops in Italy, would have penetrated even into the heart of Germany, where from Hungary and Bohemia, they would have been ſtrengthened by thoſe powerful ſuccours which were there preparing.

The other events, in conſequence of theſe diſpoſitious, can only be conjectured, becauſe they would greatly depend on the degree of alacrity with which the enemy ſhould oppoſe the rapidity of our conqueſts, and on the readineſs with which the confederates, eſpecially thoſe at the extremity of Germany, ſhould make good their engagements. Nevertheleſs, I am perſuaded, that from the diſpoſitions as here laid down, there are none but muſt regard the houſe of Auſtria as penetrated by the blow whoſe force was for ever to annihilate its power, and open a paſſage to the execution of the other projected deſigns, to which this attack could only be conſidered as the preliminary: I will add too (and here the voice of all Europe will vindicate me from the imputation of partiality) that if the force neceſſary to render ſuch an enterprize ſucceſsful does always depend on the perſon of the chief who conducts it, this could not have been better conferred, than upon Henry the Great. With a valour alone capable of ſurmounting the greateſt difficulties; and preſence of mind, which neither neglected nor loſt any opportunities of advantage; with a prudence which, without precipitating any thing, or attempting too many things at a time, could regularly connect them together, and perfectly knew what might and what might not be the reſult of time; with a conſummate experience; and finally, with all thoſe other great qualifications, whether as a warriour or politician, which were ſo remarkable in this prince; what is there which might not have been obtained? This was the meaning of that modeſt device which this great king cauſed to be inſcribed on ſome of the laſt medals that were ſtruck under his reign, *Nil ſine conſilio.*

SUPPLEMENT

SUPPLEMENT

TO

The LIFE of the DUKE of SULLY,

After his RETREAT.

THE first time we find the duke of Sully mentioned by the historians after his retreat, is upon his appearance at the assembly of protestants, held at Châtelleraut, in the year 1611. His mind was still embittered by the treatment he had met with at court; he was well informed that the duke of Bouillon, who, contrary to his real interest and character, was preparing to go thither to support the queen's rights against the protestants, had put himself at the head of his enemies, and was endeavouring to deprive him of the government of Poitou, and of his post of grand-master of the ordnance, which the queen regent had promised to bestow upon him, in reward for the services she expected from him upon this occasion; it is not therefore surprising that, in such a conjuncture, the duke of Sully should act there with vigour and spirit. Those who favour the duke of Bouillon have, through resentment that he failed in his attempt, accused the dukes of Sully and Rohan of seeking to rekindle the war between the protestants and the catholics; but they are the only persons who speak in this manner. All the other writers agree that the conduct of M. de Sully was wholly free from blame; and indeed his enemies acted with so much heat and malignity against him, that the author of the French Mercury, whom I shall follow in this period of the duke of Sully's History, condemns him for not taking the only measures that remained to secure his repose. Here follows a short account of what passed, with regard to the duke of Sully, at the assembly of Châtelleraut, or of Samur; for his enemies, being apprehensive that he would

Anno 1611. p. 75.

would be too powerful if it was held at Châtelleraut, caufed it to be transferred to Samur.

THE duke of Bouillon making no fecret of his intentions to reduce the calviniſts his brethren, and the duke of Sully in particular, to the laſt extremity, the common intereſt re-united the latter with Du-Pleſſis-Mornay and the principal proteſtant miniſters, who, till then, as has been ſeen through the courſe of theſe Memoirs, had acted with great reſerve towards him, and great diſtruſt of his ſentiments. They began by refuſing the dignity of preſident of their aſſembly to the duke of Bouillon, and conferred it on Du-Pleſſis; and made him ſenſible how much they were offended at the part he had acted, by continually oppoſing him; ſo that he could not obtain any of thoſe demands which might probably have been granted to an agent of the catholic religion, which was a convincing proof that the queen regent committed a great error when ſhe made choice of the duke of Bouillon to ſerve her on this occaſion. However, a kind of reconciliation was made between him and the duke of Sully, through the interpoſition of Du-Pleſſis; and from that time the duke found no more obſtacles to hinder him from intereſting the proteſtant body in his particular cauſe, which became one of the chief ſubjects of their deliberations.

THE aſſembly addreſſed him, entreated, and enjoined him, (theſe are the terms made uſe of by the French Mercury) not to reſign his employments, promiſed to ſupport him, &c. To which the duke of Sully anſwered by a ſpeech, in which he aſked the advice of the aſſembly upon four things. 1ſt, If he ought to take no notice of the proceedings of his enemies with reſpect to him? 2d, If, on the contrary, he ought himſelf to make a demand of being again reſtored to his places? 3d, If it was more eligible to accept of a recompence for them? and laſtly, If this recompence ought to be honour and ſecurity rather than profit? For it was to conceal the deſign they had of ruining him entirely, that the court made a propoſal to him to receive a marſhal's ſtaff, or a conſiderable ſum of money in exchange for his poſt of grand-maſter of the ordnance, and his government of Poitou. M. de Sully concluded this diſcourſe, in which he could not forbear mingling ſome complaints of the rigour which the council of the queen regent uſed towards him, with excuſing himſelf for not having ſooner laid before them the hardſhips he ſuffered on account of the great difficulty he found to perſuade himſelf that there were really ſuch plots formed

againſt him, as well as of his fears of diſpleaſing ſome perſons to whom he owed all imaginable reſpect.

THIS diſcourſe was as agreeable to the proteſtants as it was diſpleaſing to Bouillon and the reſt of the queen's agents. In their anſwer they gave indeed very high praiſes to the duke of Sully's adminiſtration; but they taxed him with being ungenerous, and of having entertained a deſign to force the queen to reſtore him to his place in the miniſtry. M. de Sully anſwered this accuſation by another remonſtrance, in which he referred his intereſts to the aſſembly. The duke of Bouillon perceiving what was likely to be the event, took off the maſque a ſecond time, and began to cabal with all the proteſtants whom he thought there was a poſſibility of gaining. In effect, he drew over ſome; but all his endeavours to gain the duke of Rohan were fruitleſs: and having neither been able, with all his addreſs, to hinder the greater number from adhering to the party of his adverſary, or to ſuſpend the concluſion, they paſſed on to their deliberations, the reſult of which was, that they would aſſiſt M. de Sully, if his adminiſtration was enquired into, *by unlawful ways*.

BULLION, and the reſt of the queen's creatures, put every thing in motion to obtain a recantation or reſtriction. As for the duke of Bouillon, he broke out in a rage and exclamation: he gave the moſt violent counſels to the queen, who contented herſelf, however, with ſending letters in the king's name to the aſſembly, which Du-Pleſſis, for fear of the conſequences they might produce, thought proper to ſuppreſs. They now had recourſe to mediums and modifications. All the other articles were amicably ſettled, and that which regarded M. de Sully was ſuffered to reſt, becauſe it was apparent to the whole world that they could not, with any ſhadow of juſtice, accuſe him of being an unfaithful miniſter, much leſs an enemy to the ſtate; and becauſe the duke of Bouillon, being diſguſted with the queen for diſappointing him in his expectations of reward, ceaſed on a ſudden to act with the ſame heat and animoſity. The duke of Sully, therefore, remained in the ſame ſituation as when he retired from court.

THE following year the war between the two religions was upon the point of being reſumed, by an incident for which our Memoirs ſeem to prepare us. Braſſac, whom his majeſty had appointed to be king's lieutenant of St. John D'Angely, after the death of Des-Ageaux, was driven out of that city by the duke of Rohan, whoſe whole conduct,

duct, from that time, ſufficiently declared that his ſentiments were very different from thoſe of his father-in-law. Although the regent was then in a condition to give him law, and all the proteſtants were greatly in fear of her, yet this affair was terminated wholly to the duke's advantage, who obtained all that he demanded. M. de Sully ſigned the agreement, which was made in the ſynode of Privas, between the duke of Rohan on one ſide, and the queen's agents on the other. This was all the ſhare he had in this great rupture.

THE two following letters, which I have tranſcribed from the originals, in the cabinet of the preſent duke of Sully, prove that the queen-mother had recourſe to Maximilian on many occaſions, and that he laboured with great diligence to prevent or appeaſe the troubles which afterwards aroſe between the princes and the grandees of the kingdom.

A Letter from the Queen-mother to the Duke of SULLY.

" COUSIN,

" I HAVE ſent the ſieur de Bethune your brother to confer with you " concerning the preſent occurrences, and have charged him to " aſſure you of my affection, and of my reliance on the conti- " nuance of yours, for the ſervice of the king, monſieur my ſon. " You may give abſolute credit to what he ſhall ſay to you on both " theſe ſubjects, as you would to the perſon of your good couſin.

Paris, Feb. 12, 1614. " MARY."

IT is ſuperſcribed, " To my Couſin, the Duke of Sully, peer, and " grand maſter of the ordnance of France."

Another Letter from the Queen to M. de SULLY.

" COUSIN,

" HAVING received your letter of the 1ſt inſtant on the 9th, I " delayed anſwering it till my arrival in this province, to the end that, " being better informed of the particular things which happened, and " the ſtate affairs are in at preſent, I might tell you with more certainty " my opinion of them all in general: but I have found here ſo much

" confuſion and tumult, ſo many complaints and infringements of the " agreement of St. Menoult, that I confeſs I know not where to begin, " or what to deſire you to do for me on this occaſion. Declarations are " every where made, and aſſurances given me of zeal and fidelity for the " ſervice of the king my ſon, and the publick good, which are indeed very " acceptable; but I find effects ſo contrary to all this, that I no ſooner " entertain any favourable hopes, than they vaniſh in an inſtant. I do not " write this upon your own particular account; for I depend upon " your affection to the good of your country and our own happineſs, " in proportion to the experience I have had of it, and the aſſurance " you have given me; but I write to condole with you upon the " changeableneſs and uncertainty of ſuch proceedings. I have within " theſe two days received your laſt letter here; the bearer of this will " tell you what I think of it.

" I do not doubt but that you have, with a freedom and zeal be- " coming a good ſubject and an honeſt man, made thoſe remonſtrances " to my nephew the prince of Condé, which you have given me an " account of in your letter, and I am rejoiced to hear that he has " taken them well of you: but, if he approves of your advice, what " hinders him from following it? By ſo doing he will get rid of thoſe " perplexities in which you tell me he is involved; he will receive of " me every reaſonable proof he can deſire of my good will, and all the " reſpect and deference due to his quality. If to aſſure him of this, " any thing depends upon me, I ſhall be glad to know it, and to have " your opinion: but I have not yet received thoſe letters, which he told " you he wrote to me upon that ſubject. I wiſh they may be ſuch as " may give me that ſatisfaction, both with reſpect to him and his " friend, for the ſervice of the king my ſon, as he has often made me " hope for, and even requeſt; and, this done, I ſhall make him ſuch " returns as he ſhall have juſt reaſon to be contented with: as likewiſe " all thoſe who ſhall follow his example.

" I HAVE not yet ſeen the duke of Vendôme; ſo that I know not " what I ought to hope from his obedience; for I have advice that he " continues to fortify Lamballe, and has engaged a great number of " ſoldiers, who have ſerved, or rather diſſerved him during theſe laſt " commotions, and eſpecially ſince the contract of St. Menoult, to " which the king my ſon and myſelf are endeavouring to apply the ne- " ceſſary remedies, by the advice of the ſtates of the country, which

" we are to propoſe to-morrow. As I promiſe myſelf that you " will always continue faithful to the intereſts of the king my ſon, and " that you will readily embrace every opportunity of ſerving him, you " may make what uſe you think proper of this for that purpoſe; and " I beſeech God, couſin, &c. Written at Nantz, Auguſt 18, 1614.

" Your good couſin,

" MARY."

In the year 1616 the revolt of the proteſtants broke out. On this occaſion the duke of Sully gave a convincing proof that he preferred the welfare of the ſtate to the intereſt of his party, and even to his own particular intereſt; for, when it was propoſed to him to re-unite the party of the prince of Condé with that of the proteſtant, a deſign which, according to all appearance, would have ruined the kingdom, the duke of Sully, whoſe ſuffrage was of the utmoſt conſequence, refuſed abſolutely to give it, and remained conſtantly attached to the king. Let us ſee what marſhal Baſſompierre ſays on this ſubject in his Memoirs. " M. de Sully, ever ſolicitous for the good of the ſtate, maintained himſelf in the eſteem and reſpect of both parties, and endeavoured to ſet them right, as long as they could ſubſiſt in the ſtate they were, by ſending information ſometimes to the queen-mother, and ſometimes to the prince; and, on Auguſt the 26th, the duke of Sully demanded an audience of the queen. He then told her, that matters were brought to ſuch extremity, that it was not poſſible they could continue eight days longer in the ſame ſituation; that as the ballance was now held, the whole authority muſt neceſſarily fall into the hands of the prince; that it was ſtill in her own choice whether to keep or ſuffer herſelf to be diſpoſſeſſed of her's. He declared that ſhe was not ſecure in Paris, and that ſhe and her children would be ſafer in the field, with a thouſand horſe, than in the Louvre, while the minds of the nobles and people were thus enraged. He ſaid, that his duty, and the obligations he had to the deceaſed king, required that he ſhould make her theſe remonſtrances; and that, if there was no other remedy for the preſent evils but the loſs of his life, he would ſacrifice it willingly for the preſervation of the king, herſelf, and the ſtate; then, taking leave of her, he implored her to conſider well what he had ſaid: and added, that, if ſhe did not apply the only, fit, and reaſonable remedy to theſe commotions, ſhe would be anſwerable for all the conſequences of them, ſince ſhe had been warned beforehand of what was likely to happen."

THE

THE author of the History of the Mother and Son renders, in spite of himself, this justice to the duke of Sully. " M. de Sully, says he, " demanded an audience of the queen, that he might confer with her " upon an affair, which he said was of no less importance than the " preservation of the king's life and her's. The queen had taken phy- " sic that day; but, upon a matter of such consequence, she thought " she could not dispense with herself from seeing him. The king hap- " pened, by chance, to be present; as were likewise the sieurs Man- " got and Barbin. The duke of Sully then made a speech, in which " he expatiated upon the bad designs of the princes, and the inevitable " dangers which he foresaw for the king. The sieurs Mangot and " Barbin told him, that it was not enough to discover an evil; he " ought likewise to propose some proper remedies to obviate it. To " this he only added, that the attempt was hazardous, and that they " must expect to see very fatal consequences; then, quitting the " queen's closet, he said, Sire, and you, madam, I entreat your ma- " jesties to think well on what I have said: I have discharged my con- " science; would to God you were in the midst of twelve hundred " horse: I see no other remedy." Saying this he went away. Tom. II. p. 61, 62.

IT must be confessed, that to the hatred which this writer bore the duke of Sully, is owing the following recital: " The prince of Condé " being arrested, the ministers told the queen, that, unless she released " him, all was lost. M. de Sully, whose vehemence of temper would " not allow him time for reflection, nor to give his advice in the pre- " sent exigence on what might be apprehended for the future, without " blaming past proceedings, said, that whoever had counselled the " queen to arrest the prince, had ruined the state. The queen replied, " that she was astonished to hear him speak in that manner; and that " he must certainly have lost his reason, since he did not remember what " he himself had said to the king and her but three days before. " These words threw him into such confusion that he withdrew im- " mediately, to the great astonishment of all the lords who were pre- " sent. His wife endeavoured afterwards to excuse him, by alledging " that it was the terrors he laboured under at that time which had " forced him to speak so, having been informed that the princes and " nobles of the prince of Condé's party had resolved to murder him, " through a suspicion that he was the cause of the prince's detention, " by the discoveries he had made of their design." Ibid. p. 94.

WITHOUT examining here whether the duke of Sully contradicted himſelf in the advice he gave the queen at theſe two different times, we ſhall grant that the reſolution they had taken to arreſt the prince of Condé, was both prudent and neceſſary; and the inference I ſhall draw from theſe circumſtances is, that the miniſter never ſwerved from his attachment to the intereſt of the king and the public good, on any occaſion ſo favourable to the proteſtant party, where he himſelf ran great riſks.

HE obſerved the ſame conduct during the reſt of his life. He was inveſted with the king's authority in the aſſemblies of Rouen and Loudun: he ſupported, like a good citizen and a loyal ſubject, his majeſty's party againſt the proteſtants, when the war was declared under the adminiſtration of cardinal Richelieu: he was preſent at the ſiege of Montauban and other encounters: he even performed all the functions of grand-maſter of the ordnance at the ſiege of St. Jean D'Angely, and the train of artillery there was furniſhed and conducted with the greateſt care. He kept this office till his death, although the writer of the duke of Bouillon's life ſays that it was taken from him. Lewis XIII. gave him a marſhal's ſtaff, September 18, 1634. The preceding year Pope Urban VIII. wrote him a letter in Latin, to which M. de Sully ſent an anſwer by his grand-ſon the prince of Henrichemont, and which produced a ſecond brief from the Pope, in Latin likewiſe, dated July 16, 1633.

IN the ſame year he loſt the marquis de Roſny, his eldeſt ſon, whoſe conduct had been a continual ſource of affliction to him, not only becauſe the marquis followed none of the wiſe counſels he gave him, and joined himſelf to the enemies of the ſtate, but becauſe the duke of Sully felt, in more ways than one, the extreme diſorder of his ſon's affairs. And here it is neceſſary we ſhould give ſome account of the duke of Sully's domeſtic concerns, which will ſerve to explain ſeveral parts of theſe Memoirs where the marquis of Roſny is mentioned, and particularly what is ſaid of him in the twenty-ninth book.

THE duke of Sully, beſides two daughters, the eldeſt of whom was married to the duke of Rohan, and the youngeſt to the marquis of Mirepoix, had three ſons; Maximilian de Bethune, marquis of Roſny, he had by his firſt wife Anne de Courtenay; and Cæſar and Francis de Bethune, by his ſecond Rachel de Cochefilet. The great eſtates he was poſſeſſed of being acquired ſince his ſecond marriage, the children by that

that marriage ſeemed intituled to the largeſt ſhare of them; nevertheleſs, the duke of Sully thinking himſelf obliged to ſecure to the marquis de Roſny ſuch an eſtate as might enable him to ſupport the grandeur of his houſe, of which he was the eldeſt, to the poſts of grand-maſter of the ordnance, ſuperintendant of the fortifications, and to the governments of Mante and Gergeau, the reverſion of which he obtained for him, and which he eſtimated at ſixty thouſand livres a year, he added, among other gifts, a donation of lands producing a yearly revenue of fifty thouſand livres, conſiſting of the duchy of Sully, the marquiſate of Roſny, the principality of Henrichemont and Boiſbelle, with all their dependencies, the property of which, however, he reſerved to himſelf during his life. The deed of entail, which is dated March 17, 1609, has in it this ſingular clauſe: "That on the ſuppo-
"ſition that none of thoſe, whether male or female, choſe to fulfil the
"aforeſaid terms and conditions, the ſaid lord, who makes this ſettle-
"ment, gives, by the preſent writing, the aboveſaid lands to the king or
"his deſcendents, according to their ſeniority, on condition that the
"ſaid lands ſhall never be diſunited from the crown; and that he who
"ſhall poſſeſs them, if he be not the king or the king's eldeſt ſon,
"ſhall be obliged, and his deſcendents after him, together with his
"own name and arms, to bear the ſirname and arms of Bethune."

But afterwards being ſolicitous to prevent any occaſion for diſunion in his family, M. de Sully the following year made two other donations and conveyances of his other poſſeſſions in the ſame form, and by an act of the ſame kind, in favour of Cæſar and Francis de Bethune his youngeſt ſons: namely, of the land and lordſhip of Villebon to Cæſar; and to Francis de Bethune, called count of Orval, of the lands of Montrond, Orval, Bruyeres, Epineuil, Beaucheſal, La-Roche-Guillebaut, and Le-Châtelet, in Berry. The value of each of theſe donations is eſtimated at ten thouſand livres a year. It is there ſtipulated that the fortifications, arms, ammunition and furniture, as well thoſe which were in all theſe caſtles when the donation was made, as thoſe which ſhould be found there at the death of the duke of Sully, ſhould be comprehended in the donation; and if either of his two ſons, to whom they were made over, ſhould die without heirs, his portion was to go intire to the ſurviver. This happened four years after; for, Cæſar de Bethune dying unmarried in 1614, the count of Orval re-united in himſelf the two articles of conveyance. In 1620 his father married him to Jacqueline de Caumont, daughter of the grand-marſhal de La-Force, and grand-daughter of the

the firſt marſhal Biron; and he confirmed, by the marriage contract, the act of entail, made in the year 1610.

BEFORE and after the duke of Sully had made theſe diſpoſitions of his eſtates, the marquis of Roſny continued to hold his poſſeſſions jointly with his father. This community of goods was wholly to the advantage of the ſon, his mother's eſtate alone being not ſufficient to ſupply his expences: but it expoſed the duke of Sully to the proſecution of his ſon's creditors. The duke paid his debts ſeveral times; but they became ſo conſiderable, by the prodigality and the bad management of the marquis of Roſny, that he took a reſolution, at length, to leave him to himſelf. Such was the beginning of his domeſtic troubles.

THIS was ſoon followed by others more conſiderable; for after the death of the marquis of Roſny, his creditors, taking the advantage of the community of goods, made an attempt to ſeize upon ſome of the poſſeſſions of the duke of Sully. The prince of Henrichemont*, his grandſon, joined with them to annul theſe conveyances, in which he was greatly aſſiſted by the circumſtances the duke of Sully was then in, who, to get himſelf clear of the prince of Condé, had been obliged to do and undo many eſtabliſhments, and had gained and ſold, and gained again at ſeveral times, agreat part of the lands contained in thoſe conveyances; ſuch as, Villebon, Montrond, &c. This kept the duke of Sully in continual perplexity with diſputes and law-ſuits, part of which, however, were amicably ſettled by the marriage of the prince of Henrichemont with the daughter of the chancellor Seguier†, in the year 1639; upon which the duke of Sully, who was then upon good terms with the prince of Condé, having Villebon reſtored, and all his other acquiſitions ſecured to him, made over again, in the year 1640, a new conveyance, confirming the former, by which he gave other lands, in the place of thoſe that might be alienated.

THE diſcontent of the prince of Henrichemont broke out again upon this new conveyance, and ſet on foot a law-ſuit, of which Lewis XIII. and his firſt miniſter took the cognizance to themſelves, and which continued during the years 1640 and 1641; the petitions and principal

* Maximilian-Francis de Bethune, the third of that name, duke of Sully, prince of Henrichemon tand Boiſbelle, marquis of Roſny, lieutenant-general for the government of Dauphiny and the Païis-Vexin, governor of Mante and Meulan: he died in 1661.

† Charlotte Seguier, daughter of the chancellor Seguier.

pieces of this ſuit have been printed: the duke of Sully complains there bitterly, that his grandſon and the chancellor Seguier, who ſupported him, ſought to take advantage of ſome failures in the formalities of the ſettlements, unavoidable perhaps in affairs ſo long and ſo complicated. But it would be improper here to enter into a diſcuſſion of this point of the law. Suppoſing that all poſſible right was not on the ſide of the duke of Sully, yet it muſt be confeſſed, that the voice of nature, and a principle of gratitude, ought to have carried it in favour of a man who had raiſed his family to ſuch a degree of ſplendor: however that may be, the duke of Sully had the mortification to find himſelf, by a decree of council given in December, 1641, obliged to revoke his conveyance of four of thoſe eſtates which had been given in the room of the former that had been alienated. He was then eighty-two years old, and it is probable that, jealous as he was of the paternal authority, and convinced in his own mind, that in all he had done he had exactly followed the laws of equity, this ſtroke affected him ſo ſenſibly, that it contributed to ſhorten his life: he died eight days afterwards at Villebon, December 22, 1641.

His bowels were put into a kind of leaden urn, and depoſited in the vault of the collegiate church of Saint-Anne in Villebon, and upon the vault over it this inſcription:

Here lie the bowels of the moſt high, moſt puiſſant, and moſt illuſtrious lord, Maximilian de Bethune, duke of Sully, peer and marſhal of France.

His body was to be carried to Aumône, or Hotel Dieu of Nogent, but the mauſoleum which was erecting for him there, not being finiſhed, it was laid in a leaden coffin, and placed in the duke of Sully's chamber in the caſtle of Villebon, where he died. The ceilings, the floors, and walls of this apartment, were hung with black cloth: it was left there expoſed to view, under a canopy of black velvet, with bands of ſilver ſtuff, and the arms of Bethune at the four corners.

In the mean time, the ducheſs of Sully cauſed a cloſet to be built in the lower gallery of the caſtle of Villebon, in order to place a ſtatue in it, which ſhe deſigned to erect to the memory of her huſband: and for this purpoſe ſhe bought a block of white marble, the fineſt that could be procured, and ſent for one of the moſt excellent ſculptors of that time from Italy. In the front of this cloſet is written, in large characters, the ten commandments, as they ſtand in the book of Exodus; on one of the ſides, the epitaph of the deceaſed; upon the other, his

coat

coat of arms, with all the enſigns of his office; the top, and all the reſt of the cloſet, is filled with pictures, emblems, and mottos, which it is not neceſſary to deſcribe here: it is enlightened by a long window, which takes up the further end. The ſtatue is placed in the midſt of the cloſet, ſtanding upon a pedeſtal of white marble likewiſe; it is a little larger than the life, and repreſents the duke of Sully, armed from his neck to his feet, with a crown of laurel upon his head, and the ducal mantle on his ſhoulders; in his right hand, ſtretched out, he holds the marſhal's ſtaff; and his left is leaning upon his coat of arms: the marſhal's ſtaff, as well as his caſque, adorned with a plume of feathers, which lies at the left ſide of the ſtatue, are cut out of the ſame block. This whole piece is ſo beautiful and ſo highly finiſhed, that it may vie with the ancient monuments of Greece and Rome. Over the door of the cloſet is written, in cartouche:

Rachel de Cochefilet, Ducheſs Dowager of Sully, after the death of Maximilian de Bethune, Duke of Sully, her huſband, with whom ſhe lived forty-nine years in marriage, to honour his memory, and in teſtimony of her grief for his loſs, has erected this ſtatue, in the year 1642.

The body of this lady being, after her death, depoſited by that of her huſband, the mauſoleum, which we are going to deſcribe, was common to them both: it is a round chapel, built on the ſide of that of Saint James de l'Aumône, or the Hoſpital of Nogent, called from their name Nogent le Bethune; it has no communication with the church, becauſe the duke and ducheſs of Sully were ſo unhappy as to die in the principles of the pretended reformed religion. Under this chapel is a vault, where both their bodies are interred. The walls on the inſide of this chapel are adorned with the coats of arms and alliances of the houſe of Bethune; the dome is only coloured with a plain blue, ſprinkled with flowers de luce: the effigies of the duke and ducheſs are of white marble, as large as the life; they are kneeling upon a pedeſtal, three feet in height, with their faces turned towards the eaſt: by an inſcription upon the pedeſtal we are told, that this work, which is very well executed, was the performance of B. Boudin, in the year 1642. Behind the ſtatue of the duke of Sully, is this inſcription:

Here lies the body of the moſt high, moſt puiſſant, and moſt illuſtrious, Lord, Maximilian de Bethune, Marquis of Roſny, who ſhared in all the fortunes of king Henry the Great, among which was that memorable battle which gave the crown to the Victor; where by his valour, he gained

gained the white ſtandard, and took ſeveral priſoners of diſtinction. He was by that Great Monarch, in reward of his many virtues and diſtinguiſhed merit, honoured with the dignities of Duke, Peer, and Marſhal of France, with the governments of the Upper and Lower Poitou, with the office of Grand Maſter of the Ordnance, in which, bearing the thunder of his Jupiter, he took the caſtle of Montmelian, till then believed impregnable, and many other fortreſſes of Savoy; he was likewiſe made Superintendant of the Finances, which office he diſcharged ſingly with a wiſe and prudent œconomy, and continued his faithful ſervices till that unfortunate day when the Cæſar of the French nation loſt his life by the hand of a parricide. After the lamented death of that great King, he retired from publick affairs, and paſſed the remainder of his life in eaſe and tranquillity. He died at the caſtle of Villebon, December 22, 1641, aged eighty-two years.---Here alſo lies the moſt high, moſt puiſſant, and moſt illuſtrious lady, Madame Rachel de Cochefilet, his wife, who died at Paris in the ninety-ſeventh year of her age, in the year 1659.

THE way to this chapel is through a long court, planted with a walk of elms; at the entrance of which is a portal, of very beautiful architecture, with the arms of the houſe of Bethune in raiſed work, and all the additions belonging to the arms of the duke of Sully. The houſe of Bethune bears *d'argent, facé de gueules*, ſupported by two ſavages armed with clubs.

BEFORE Villebon was reſtored to the duke of Sully, he divided his reſidence between Sully, La Chapelle-d'Angillon, which is a very fine houſe and barony dependent on the duchy of Sully, and Roſny, which of all his houſes, he moſt embelliſhed, as he reckoned upon this being always kept in his family: he was building the wings when he had the misfortune to loſe the king, his benefactor; and, as a witneſs of his grief for that loſs, he left thoſe wings imperfect, and in the ſame condition they were in at the time of that ſad event. But when he became again poſſeſſed of Villebon, the beauty of that caſtle, its ſituation in a moſt agreeable country, its contiguity to Paris, for Villebon is not more than twenty leagues diſtant from that city, and the advantage of being in the center of ſeveral great eſtates which he had purchaſed with the money ariſing from the ſale of thoſe he had been obliged to part with to the prince of Condé; all theſe conſiderations determined him to fix his ſtay there during ſix whole months of the year, which were the autumn and the winter: he uſed, in the ſpring,

to make ſome ſhort journies to Sully; but that place was become very diſagreeable to him, on account of the conduct of his eldeſt ſon: the reſt of the year he paſſed at La Chapelle-d'Angillon, at Roſny, and his other eſtates.

The life he led in his retreat was accompanied with decency, grandeur, and even majeſty; ſuch as might be expected from a character ſo grave and ſo full of dignity as his. Beſides a great many gentlemen and pages, by whom he was attended, and ladies and maids of honour about the perſon of the ducheſs of Sully, he had one company of guards, with their officers, and another of Swiſs; and ſo great a number of domeſtics, that there are but few examples of ſubjects who have kept ſo grand and ſo numerous an houſhold. Monſieur, the preſent duke of Sully, has converſed with the ſon of an ancient ſurgeon belonging to his anceſtor the duke of Sully, the laſt of this branch, who died at the age of eighty-eight years, and who was about fourteen when the duke of Sully, of whom we are ſpeaking, died: this man told him, that he had accompanied his father in his viſits to the ſick in the caſtle of Villebon; and had reckoned fourſcore of them, without perceiving that the ſervice of the houſe ſuffered the leaſt diſorder or delay upon that account.

M. de Sully always continued his cuſtom of riſing very early in the morning; after ſome time ſpent in prayers and reading, he ſet himſelf to work with his four ſecretaries: this work conſiſted in putting his papers in order, in digeſting his Memoirs, in anſwering the ſeveral letters he received, in regulating his domeſtic affairs, and, laſtly, in taking cognizance of thoſe which related either to his governments or his poſts; for he continued, till his death, governor of the Upper and Lower Poitou and of Rochelle, grand maſter of the ordnance, grand ſurveyor of France, and ſuperintendant of the fortifications. He uſually paſſed the whole morning in theſe occupations; except that he ſometimes went out to take the air half an hour or an hour before dinner; they then rung a great bell which was upon the bridge, to give notice that he was going out; the greateſt part of his houſhold ranged themſelves on each ſide, from the bottom of the ſtair-caſe to the door of his apartment; his equerries, gentlemen, and officers, walked before him, preceded by two Swiſs with their halberts; the duke came next, with ſome of his friends and relations on each ſide of him, with whom he converſed; then followed the officers of his French and Swiſs guards; and the proceſſion was always cloſed by four Swiſs.

At

At his return, he went into the hall, where he dined: this was a very large room, in which he had cauſed the moſt memorable actions of his own life, together with thoſe of Henry the Great, to be painted; at the upper end of the table two armed chairs were placed for the duke and ducheſs; all his children, married as well as unmarried, of whatever rank or dignity, had only ſtools; for at that time, the ſubordination between parents and their children was ſo great, that they were not permitted to ſit in their preſence, without being commanded to do ſo. His table was ſerved with taſte and magnificence; he admitted to it none but the nobility in his neighbourhood, ſome of the principal gentlemen, and the ladies and maids of honour who belonged to the ducheſs of Sully: except his gueſts, all the company retired as ſoon as the deſſert was brought in. After dinner they withdrew into a cabinet adjoining to the hall where they dined: this was called the cabinet of illuſtrious men, becauſe it was adorned with the portraits of popes, kings, princes, and other great and celebrated perſons, from whom he had received them; many of theſe portraits are ſtill to be ſeen at Villebon.

In another adjoining hall magnificently furniſhed, the captain of his guards had a ſecond table, ſerved with almoſt as much grandeur as the firſt; here ſat the younger ſort, and indeed thoſe only whom, on account of the diſproportion of age, he choſe not to receive at his own table. The preſent duke of Sully has been told by ſeveral perſons of quality, that when they have accompanied their fathers in the viſits they made to his anceſtor, he kept only them at his own table, ſaying to the young men, *You are not old enough to eat with us, we ſhould grow weary of one another.*

When he had ſtaid ſome time with the company, he retired to his own apartment, where for two or three hours he employed himſelf in the ſame manner as in the morning. If the ſeaſon and the weather permitted it, he took a walk in the afternoon, attended with the ſame train as before: he often went into his gardens, and paſſing through a little covered alley, which ſeparated the flower from the kitchen garden, aſcended by a ſtone ſtair-caſe (which the preſent duke of Sully has cauſed to be deſtroyed) into a large walk of linden trees, upon a terrace on the other ſide of the garden. It was then the taſte to have a great number of narrow walks, very cloſely ſhaded with four or five rows of trees or paliſadoes: here he uſed to ſit upon a ſettee painted green, and

large enough to hold two perſons, and leaning his elbows upon a large grated window, which has been lately taken away likewiſe, amuſed himſelf with beholding, on the one ſide, an agreeable landſcape; and on the other, a ſecond alley, on a terrace, extremely beautiful which furrounded a large piece of water, called the New Pond, and terminated by a wood of lofty trees, called the Great Park. In this park alſo he uſed ſometimes to walk, and often was drove about it in his chariot or coach, with the ducheſs his wife. The interval between theſe airings and ſupper, he ſpent in the ſame occupations as the morning: at ſupper, the ſame form was obſerved as at dinner: after which, every one retired to their reſpective apartments.

The duke of Sully, on account of his religion, could not be admitted into any order: he therefore made one for himſelf. In the inventory of his effects there were ſeveral diamond rings for that uſe. He wore about his neck, and more eſpecially after the death of Henry IV. a chain of gold or diamonds, to which hung a large gold medal which had in relievo the figure of that great prince. He uſed often to take this medal out of his boſom, ſtop, and contemplate it, and then kiſs it with the utmoſt reverence and affection: he never would quit it, not even when he went to court, any more than his ancient dreſs, which he always preſerved, for he would not ſubject himſelf to the change of faſhions. It is well known what happened to him one day when he went to court in conſequence of a meſſage from Lewis XIII. "Monſieur de Sully, ſaid the young prince to him, I ſent for "you as being one of the chief miniſters of the king my father, and "a man in whom he placed great confidence, to aſk your advice, and "to confer with you upon ſome affairs of importance." The duke of Sully ſeeing none but young courtiers about the king, who, to make their court to the conſtable de Luynes, ridiculed his dreſs and the gravity of his manners, made this anſwer: "Sire, I am too old to change "my habits, but for ſome good cauſe. When the late king your fa- "ther, of glorious memory, did me the honour to ſend for me to "confer with me upon matters of importance, the firſt thing he did "was to ſend away the buffoons." The young king ſeemed not to diſapprove of this freedom: he ordered every one to withdraw, and remained alone with M. de Sully.

The moſt exact order, ſubordination, and peace, reigned throughout his numerous houſhold: no perſon knew better how to make himſelf be ſerved, reſpected, and obeyed, than the duke of Sully.

The

The catholics in his ſervice ſaw no difference between his treatment of them and his proteſtant domeſtics, except the great care he took to oblige the former to an exact performance of all the duties of good roman catholics. This was one effect of that eſteem, and even inclination, which, in the courſe of theſe Memoirs, he has always ſhown for the true religion, and which would probably have led him to embrace it, but for the conſiderations he there mentions. The misfortune was, that, being perſuaded he could work out his ſalvation in either of the two religions, he was too much governed by his own delicacy, which would not ſuffer him to have the appearance of being ſwayed either by ambition or intereſt, in taking a reſolution which would have gratified both in ſo high a degree. All his children, except the ducheſs of Rohan, died in the boſom of the roman church.

THE ducheſs his wife, although brought up in the principles of the roman catholic religion, quitted it after the death of M. de Châteaupers her firſt huſband, to marry the duke of Sully. The lords of Villebon had, in the church of that pariſh, which is a collegiate, a chapel on the ſide next the caſtle, which they cauſed to be demoliſhed, and built in its place two galleries, of which the lower one was ſo incloſed, that thoſe who were within could not be ſeen by the congregation; and the one above, to which the aſcent is by a little ſtair-caſe of wood, is alſo obſcured by a grate. It is publickly known, that the two ducheſſes, of Sully and Rohan, came often into the lower gallery to hear the pſalms during the canonical hours. They waſhed with their own hands all the linen that was uſed in the ſervice of the altar. The preſent duke of Sully heard this circumſtance from Catherine de La-Porte, one of his anceſtors. This lady, who lived a long time with the ducheſs of Rohan, her aunt, heard from her an anecdote which no one at that time was ignorant of, namely, that the duke of Sully always gave a moſt gracious reception to the capuchins that viſited him, and had ſo great an eſteem for them, that during his laſt ſickneſs, and a few days before he died, he deſired to confer with ſome of theſe religious; but that, when they preſented themſelves for that purpoſe upon the bridge of the caſtle, the ducheſs of Sully gave orders that they ſhould not be admitted, and threatened to have them thrown into the moat.

THIS lady employed her time in regulating the interiour of her houſhold; in having leaſes drawn out, and the accounts of the farmers and receivers given in; and always viſited the ſeveral eſtates of her huſband, when neceſſary. In her leiſure hours ſhe amuſed herſelf with working

working tapeſtry and embroidery with her ladies and maids of honour. The beauty and elegance of her work is ſtill admired in ſome pieces of tapeſtry that remain in the poſſeſſion of the duke of Sully, out of a great number which have been either loſt or carried into other families.

THE works of the duke of Sully are more durable. Beſides all the other monuments of his liberality, of which we have had occaſion to ſpeak, he has immortaliſed his memory by a great number of fine buildings in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, particularly in his government of Poitou. He would, if he had continued in the adminiſtration till his death, have procured all the roads in that province to have been made eaſy and commodious for travelling. It was he who cauſed that magnificent bridge and cauſeway to be built at Châtelleraut, which is ſtill to be ſeen there.

THERE was ſcarce one of his eſtates, thoſe eſpecially which had caſtles on them, where he did not leave marks of his magnificence, to which he was chiefly incited by a principle of charity, and a regard to the public good. He built moſt part of the Hôtel Dieu of Nogent. This city and lordſhip, which was diſtinguiſhed by the ſirname of Nogent Le-Rotrou, was by the prince of Condé's erecting it into a duchy, called D'Enguien; but, when it came into the poſſeſſion of the duke of Sully, it loſt both theſe names, and was called the earldom of Nogent-le-Bethune. He at firſt deſigned to carry on very conſiderable buildings in the caſtle of this city, but he met with ſo many obſtacles from the religious of St. Denis, that he was determined to turn all his views upon Villebon. Meſſieurs D'Eſtouteville, to whom that houſe had formerly belonged, had left it built only up to the firſt ſtory: he raiſed it and completed it after the model of the Baſtile, of which he was governor, but with more beauty. The front preſents three ſets of chambers covered with ſlates between the towers. The towers have flat roofs, covered with lead, with pinacles, and the battlemets alternately round and pointed; the ſpouts are of the ſame metal with caſt cannon, and the inner ſpouts which receive thoſe of the corners of the houſe, are likewiſe of caſt metal, eight feet high, terminating in dolphins heads. The grand ſtair-caſe is extremely large and luminous. At the firſt ſtory is a large room, with the beams and joints gilt; as likewiſe the chimney, which is of beautiful workmanſhip. The apartments are very numerous, and have their chimneys gilt, and the greateſt part of their pannels. The park is encloſed with ſtone walls, and contains a great number of pools and reſervoirs. The gardens, which join

join the houſe on three ſides, the courts, and court-yards, are all the work of the duke of Sully.

To give employment to the poor, who offered themſelves during a famine, and whom he thought it no real charity to ſupport in idleneſs, he made a pond about ſeven hundred and twenty yards long, and a hundred and twenty broad. This he called Chapel Pond. The earth which was dug out, he threw up into four terraces parallel to the canal, which reach to the new pond, another piece of water above the Chapel Pond. Between theſe terraces and the canal, were two levels of turf, which the preſent duke of Sully had cut into ſquares, into graſs plats and bowling-greens. All thoſe who offered were ſet to work indifferently, even to little children, ſome of whom did not carry, at a time, more than half a pound of earth: and for this purpoſe an infinite number of hand-carriages of all ſizes had been provided. To each of theſe poor people was given in the morning a piece of bread; at dinner-time a diſh of ſoop; and at ſupper-time another piece of bread: together with wages in money in proportion to their age and labour. This work, which the duke of Sully never would have undertaken merely for the decoration of his houſe, coſt him fourſcore thouſand livres.

Every body knows that he built the caſtle of Roſny completely, ſurrounded it with dry ditches extremely wide, where, when batteries were placed, the ſhot croſſed each other in a ſurprizing manner; a thing very rare at that time. He raiſed that fine terrace which runs acroſs the ſea to a prodigious extent, and thoſe great gardens filled with groves and grottoes with water-works.

He embelliſhed Sully with gardens, of which the plants are the fineſt in the world; and with a canal, very long and very broad, which is ſupplied with freſh water by the little river of Sangle, which he turned that way, and which afterwards is loſt in the Loire. He erected a machine to convey the water to all the baſons and fountains, of which the gardens are full. The machine is yet in being; but the water-works have been ſuffered to go to ruin. With regard to the caſtle, he had it covered with ſlates: he wainſcoted, painted, and gilt, almoſt all the apartments, and worked in the walls the galleries which paſs from the little lodges, at the gate, to the main caſtle. The court-yard, and a ſecond court-yard, which was formerly called the Little Park, are likewiſe his work. There are, in this ſecond court, ſeveral eminencies,

cies, or enormous heaps of earth, which appear plainly to be the work of men. This expence, which produced no good, and of which the effect is even diſagreeable, might ſurpriſe thoſe who do not know that the duke of Sully had no other way of ſupporting a multitude of poor people who demanded work in a time of ſcarcity. St. Ithier was anciently a little church, almoſt cloſe to the caſtle: he removed it to the middle of a city, where he built, at his own coſt, a very fine church covered with ſlate. I ſhall not mention ſeveral other works for which this city is obliged to him: among others, an hoſpital, which he founded there.

THE principal apartment of this caſtle, is that which he fitted up in memory of Henry the Great, and which is called, for that reaſon, the King's apartment. He determined to leave another monument of his gratitude to this great prince, in the great hall of Sully. This hall, which, next to that of Montargis, is the largeſt in France, has a proſpect of the Loire. Henry IV. is there painted, in a picture of the firſt ſize, upon a very fine ſorrel horſe. This is the moſt perfect, and the moſt like, of all the pictures of that prince. It is hung over the chimney, which is uncommonly large, adorned with carved work, and covered, both on the front and the ſides, with ſquares of painting, containing each an emblem or a device relating either to the king or the duke of Sully. One of theſe pieces has ſomething ſingular: it is in the front, where the ſun is repreſented caſting a weak and pale light, with the moon below it, ſhining with extraordinary brightneſs; and lower yet, the earth, which ſeems obſcured by the great brightneſs of the moon. This is the only emblem that has no motto; and may be therefore ſuppoſed to contain ſomething myſterious.

THE duke of Sully likewiſe repaired and enlarged the caſtle of La-Chapelle D'Angillon, built by mademoiſelle D'Albert: he embelliſhed it with gardens and terraces, and a park about two hundred and thirty acres, ſurrounded with ſtone walls, which, tho' ſtrongly built, are now almoſt ruined by the negligence of his ſucceſſors. Facing the meadow is a great terrace, remarkable for its height and length, all faced with hewn ſtone, with pilaſters of brick and ſtone from ſpace to ſpace, which contributed at once to the ſtrength and beauty of the work. At the foot of this terrace was a mean church, which the duke of Sully pulled down and rebuilt, with great expence and magnificence, at the foot of the citadel of La-Chapelle, of which he is conſidered not only as the lord, but as the founder.

THE

The caſtle of Montigny is indebted to him, among other embelliſhments, for a fine avenue of trees; and, behind the houſe, a wall or kind of court, very agreeable, with four rows of elms.

To conclude, it was he that built, and cut in the rock, the famous caſtle of Montrond, which was long conſidered as impregnable. The way to it was by a winding path, very broad, cut likewiſe in the rock; as were alſo the out-works of the palace, within which there was a well never dry, and ſheltered againſt all violence from without. The prince of Condé, as has been already ſhown, obliged the duke of Sully to give him up Montrond, which, in the times of confuſion, was his principal fortreſs againſt the king, whoſe army was ſtopped by it eighteen months, and at laſt took it only by ſtratagem; after which the fortifications were blown up, and the place deſtroyed.

END OF THE MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

THE TRIAL OF FRANCOIS MAYAILLAC

THE

TRYAL

OF

FRANCIS RAVAILLAC,

FOR THE

Murder of King HENRY IV. 1610.

INTERROGATORIES *exhibited to the accuſed of the murder of the late king, on the 17th of May, 1610. at the ſuit of the attorney-general, by* ACHILLES DE HARLAY, *firſt preſident*; NICOLAS POTIER, *preſident*; JOHN COURTIN *and* PROSPER BAVIN, *counſellors of our lord the king in his court of parliament, commiſſioners appointed by the ſaid court for that purpoſe.*

THE priſoner ſworn; and aſked his name, age, rank, and place of abode?

He ſaid, that his name was Francis Ravaillac, born and dwelling at Angoulême, between thirty-one and thirty-two years of age.

He was aſked if he was married?

He anſwered, No.

Whether he ever had been married?

He anſwered, No.

How he had ſpent his youth? and to what he had applied himſelf?

He ſaid, that he had been employed in ſoliciting law-ſuits in this court.

Whether he had been bred up to the practice of the law?

He ſaid, that he had ſolicited law-ſuits for fourteen years; that he lodged at the Rats, oppoſite to the Green pillar, in Harp-ſtreet, at a cobler's; and near the three pair of beads, in Calender-ſtreet.

How long he had been in this city the laſt journey?

He ſaid about three weeks.

Whether he has had any intention to go back again?

He ſaid, Yes.

How far he had gone back?

He ſaid, he had gone beyond the town of d'Eſtampes, at the ſign of the *Ecce Homo*.

He was aſked, what made him return?

He ſaid, a deſire to kill the king.

He was aſked, what was his motive?

He anſwered, that among other reaſons there was this, that the king had not, as he was able to do, brought back the followers of the pretended reformation to the catholic, apoſtolic, and roman church.

He was aſked, what other reaſons he had?

He anſwered, that he was come to this city to ſpeak to the king, and admoniſh him to bring back thoſe of the pretended reformed religion to the catholic church; and for that purpoſe he had been ſeveral times at the Louvre to meet with his majeſty; that he had been at madame d'Angoulême's, to get ſomebody to introduce him; and likewiſe at the houſe of the cardinal Du-Perron, to whom he never ſpoke, but only to his chaplains, whoſe names he could not tell, but ſhould know them if he ſaw them; that he ſpoke of it to father Daubigny, a jeſuit, in his laſt journey, which was before Chriſtmas; he ſpoke of it to the parſon of Saint Severin, and to the father Saint-Mary-Magdalen, provincial of the feuillants.

It was aſked him, where he ſpoke to father Daubigny?

He ſaid, he ſpoke to him in the church of Saint-Antony's-ſtreet, at the concluſion of maſs.

He was aſked, at what time he talked to him?

He ſaid, that he ſet out from his own country thirteen days before Chriſtmas; that he was fourteen days coming to this city; that three or four days after his arrival, he went to the houſe of Jeſuits near Saint-Antony's gate, where the ſaid father Daubigny ſaid maſs; after which, he deſired one of the lay-brothers to procure him the means

of ſpeaking to the ſaid Daubigny; which he did; and he told him ſeveral viſions which had preceded the meditations that he had made by the permiſſion of his provincial Francis Mary Magdalen of the feuillants.

He was aſked, why he uſed the expreſſion, *My provincial?*

He ſaid, becauſe the ſaid Mary Magdalen had received him as lay-brother at the feuillants.

It was aſked, how long he had wore the habit of a feuillant? and why he had quitted it?

He ſaid, that he had worn it about ſix weeks; and they had taken it from him, becauſe he had viſions in his meditations.

On being aſked again about it, he ſaid he had deſired it again, but it was refuſed him on account of the ſaid meditations.

Upon this he began to weep, and ſaid, God had given him that habit, and his grief was, that they would not reſtore it to him.

He was aſked, if he knew the ſuperior, and his name?

He ſaid, that he did not know him nor his name; but that he had aſked for the habit again, only becauſe it being our Lord's pleaſure that he ſhould continue in the world, from which it was his wiſh to retire, he reſolved to ſerve as a lay-brother.

This he uttered with tears.

He ſaid, that he had a great deal of uneaſineſs, in not having ſtaid with the feuillants in the favour of God.

He was aſked, what viſions he had ſpoke of to father Daubigny?

He ſaid, that he had told him, that while he was a priſoner for debt at Angoulême he had viſions, repreſenting fire, ſulphur, and incenſe; and being releaſed from priſon, the Saturday after Chriſtmas, having at night made his meditation, as was his cuſtom, in bed, with his hands claſped, and his feet croſſed, he felt his face and his mouth covered with ſomething which he could not diſcern, becauſe it was midnight; and being in that ſtate, he felt in himſelf a deſire to ſing the Pſalms of David; he begun the pſalm, *Dixit Dominus*, and ſung it through; and afterwards, *Miſerere*, and *De profundis*, at full length; and that it ſeemed to him, that he had a trumpet in his mouth, which made a ſound as loud as that which is made in war.

The next day in the morning, as ſoon as he got out of bed, having made his meditation on his knees, and recollected in God, as his manner was, he ſat down in a low chair before the hearth, and having combed his head, it being not yet light, he perceived one of the ſticks yet on fire; and having finiſhed dreſſing himſelf, he found part of a bundle of twigs, which he put to the ſtick that had kept fire, and kneeling

kneeling down upon the ground, ſet himſelf to blow it, when immediately, on both ſides of his face, both to the right and to the left, he ſaw, by the glimmering of the fire which was produced by his breath, hoſts like thoſe which are uſed at the communion of catholics in the church of God; and below his face, at the right ſide of his mouth, he ſaw a roll of the ſame ſize with that which the prieſt elevates at the celebration of divine ſervice. Of this revelation he gave an account to father Daubigny, who, fearing that his head was diſordered, told him, that he was not to think of all this, but to tell his beads, and pray to God: but that he was determined in his own mind to addreſs himſelf to ſome great man to ſpeak to the king.

It was enquired, if he had aſked Daubigny whether, if he ſhould have viſions that incited him to kill the king, he ought to confeſs them?

He anſwered, that he had ſaid nothing to him but what he had already told, except that his purpoſe was to ſpeak to the king to drive out all the followers of the pretended reformed religion, and convert them to the roman catholic church.

It was aſked, what Daubigny ſaid to this?

He ſaid, that he ſhould put all theſe things out of his head, ſay his prayers, and tell his beads.

It was aſked, whether he had no other converſation with him? and whether he never ſaw him but that time?

He anſwered, No.

Why did he chuſe to addreſs himſelf to Daubigny rather than to any other?

He anſwered, that it was becauſe, when he was turned out of the feuillants, he had a mind to become a jeſuit, or to entreat him to ſpeak to his provincial to replace him among the feuillants; but that, not having found him the firſt time, one of the lay brethren told him, that they never receive in their houſe thoſe who had been in another order.

He ſaid farther, that, not having been able to ſpeak to the king, he went back to the jeſuits to ſpeak a ſecond time to the ſaid Daubigny, and ſpoke to him as he has already ſaid, and ſhewed him a little knife on which there was a heart and a croſs, telling him, that the heart of the king ſhould be diſpoſed to make war amongſt the huguenots.

He was aſked, what hindered him from ſpeaking to the king?

He ſaid, that it was the grand provoſt who had given him the torture with the gun while he was kept priſoner at the Hôtel de Retz.

He

He was aſked to whom he had applied himſelf that he might ſpeak with the king?

He ſaid, to the archers, and they carried him to ſpeak to the provoſt, who told him that the king was ſick.

He was aſked, when he was at the Louvre?

He ſaid, that it was after Chriſtmas, and ſome two or three days afterwards he met his majeſty near St. Innocent's in his coach, and, deſiring to ſpeak to him, he cried out in theſe words: *Sire, I ſpeak to you in the name of our Lord Jeſus, and of the Holy Virgin*; but the king put him back with a little ſtick, and would not hear him. He then conſidered of retiring into his own country, and went away. And, being at Angoulême, he went to look for friar Gilles there, who had been formerly viſitor of the franciſcan friars in Paris, to whom he confeſſed his viſions and meditations, telling him, that he ſaw it to be the will of our Lord to bring back the followers of the pretended reformation to the catholic church: that the viſitor told him he need not doubt of it. A few days afterwards, and the firſt Sunday in Lent, he went to maſs at the monaſtery of the franciſcan friars in Angoulême, where he reconciled himſelf with God, made his confeſſion to a friar of the order, whoſe name he does not know, and in his confeſſion told the voluntary murder.

He was deſired to explain what he meant by the word *voluntary?*

He ſaid, his meaning was, that he returned into this city with an intention to murder the king, which, nevertheleſs, he did not tell his confeſſor, who did not deſire the meaning of thoſe words.

Upon being further queſtioned, he ſaid, that he then loſt that intention, but that, when he returned to this city, he reſumed his intention.

He was aſked, when he came to the city?

He ſaid, that he travelled on foot, and arrived eight days after his ſetting out.

He was aſked, how he had employed himſelf during his ſtay in Paris?

He ſaid, that he lodged at the Three Half Moons, in the ſuburbs St. James; and afterwards, that he might be near the Louvre, he went to lodge at the Three Pigeons, in the ſuburb St. Honore; from thence he went to take a lodging at an inn, near the *quinze vingts*, but, there being too many gueſts there, he was refuſed; upon which he took up a knife that lay upon a table, not upon account of his being refuſed a lodging, but becauſe it ſeemed to him a very fit one for the

execution

execution of his deſign, and he kept it for ſome days, or three weeks, in a bag in his pocket.

He farther ſaid, that, having deſiſted from his intention, he ſet out upon his journey home, and went as far as Eſtampes; that, as he was walking, he broke the point of the knife againſt a cart near the garden of Chanteloup, and, coming oppoſite to the *Ecce Homo*, of the ſuburb of Eſtampes, he again took it into his head to kill the king, and, no longer reſiſting the temptation as he had done formerly, he returned to Paris with that reſolution, becauſe the king did not convert the followers of the pretended reformation, and becauſe he had heard it reported, that the king intended to make war upon the Pope, and transfer the ſeat of the holy ſee to Paris.

He was then aſked, where he lodged? and who procured him lodgings in this city?

He ſaid, that he ſought for an opportunity to kill the king; and that, for this purpoſe, he ſharpened, with a ſtone, the point of the knife which had been broke, and waited till the queen was crowned, and come back to the city, ſuppoſing that there would not be ſo much confuſion in France, if he killed the king after the coronation, as if he had done it before.

He was told, that, ſince he deferred killing the king through a hope that there would be fewer commotions after the coronation, the ſaid coronation could not prevent the troubles which the king's death muſt neceſſarily bring along with it.

He ſaid, that he ſubmitted to the will of God.

He was aſked, where he went to meet the king?

He ſaid, that he went to the Louvre, where he had been ſeveral times ſince he had reſolved upon killing him; that he went there laſt Wedneſday, and intended to kill him between the two gates, as he was going into his coach; that he followed him as far as St. Innocent's, near the place where he happened to meet him before, when he would not ſpeak to him; and obſerving that the coach was ſtopt by two carts, and that his majeſty turned his face and leaned towards that ſide where monſieur d'Epernon ſat, he ſtruck him twice in the ſide with his knife, paſſing his arm above the coach-wheel.

He was aſked, what was his own opinion of the action he had committed?

He ſaid, that he thought he had committed a great fault, for which he aſked pardon of God, of the queen, the dauphin, the whole court, and of every one who was injured by it,

We

We ſhewed him the knife, which lay before us: it was double edged at the point, with the handle made of a ſtag's horn. He acknowledged it to be the ſame with which he had ſtabbed the king, and that it was immediately taken from him by a gentleman on horſeback.

He was told, that he could have no reaſon for committing ſo wicked and traiterous an act, and that he had certainly been incited to it by ſome other perſon?

He ſaid, that no perſon whatever had incited him to do it, but the common diſcourſe among the ſoldiers, who ſaid, that if the king, who would not tell his deſign to any one, intended to make war upon the Holy Father, that they would not aſſiſt him, although they were to die for it; that for this cauſe he yielded to the temptation which prompted him to kill the king, becauſe he made war againſt God, in as much as the Pope is God, and God the Pope.

He was aſked, what time it was that he heard this diſcourſe amongſt the ſoldiers?

He ſaid, that it was after he went to lodge at the Three Half Moons.

It was objected to him, that he was guilty of a falſhood in declaring that to be the cauſe of his committing the parricide, becauſe he had ſaid before, that, having laid aſide his deſign of killing the king, he ſet out on his journey to his own country; and that, when he came to Eſtampes, he reſumed that deſign, upon the diſcourſe of the ſoldiers.

He anſwered, that he had ſpoke to them before, notwithſtanding which he had altered his intention; but, when he came to Eſtampes, he reſumed it, upon remembering what the ſoldiers had ſaid to him.

He deſired us to ſhew him a paper which he had about him at the time he was ſeized, whereon was painted the arms of France, with a lion on each ſide; one holding a key, the other a ſword. We ſhewed this paper to him, and he acknowledged it to be the ſame which he had brought with him from Angoulême, with an intention to kill the king.

He was aſked, whether, when he was at the houſe of a man whoſe name was Beliard, he had heard the ſaid Beliard ſay, that the Pope's nuncio had told the king, in the name of his holineſs, that, if he made war, he would excommunicate him.

He ſaid, Yes; and alſo that his majeſty had anſwered, that it was his predeceſſors who had placed the Popes upon the throne; and that, if the Holy Father ſhould excommunicate him, he would diſpoſſeſs him of it; whereupon he reſolved to kill the king, and with that intention he wrote theſe two lines over the lions:

Ne ſouffre pas qu'on en ta preſence
Au nom de Dieu aucunne irreverence.

Do not ſuffer the name of God to be prophaned in thy preſence.

He was aſked, whether the knife, when he took it off the table, had the ſame handle that it has now?

He ſaid, No: that the handle was of whalebone, which, being broke, he gave the knife to his landlord's brother, whoſe name was John Barbier, a turner by trade, living in the ſuburbs of St. James, and deſired him to put a handle of horn upon it; but he did not tell him why he preferred that to any other.

He was aſked, if this Beliard was one of the pretended reformed religion?

He ſaid, No; that he was a catholic: nevertheleſs he held that diſcourſe with him which put it into his head to kill the king.

He was told, that he ought not to have taken ſo wicked and abominable a reſolution upon the diſcourſe of one man only.

He ſaid, he had taken a reſolution to kill the king, not only upon what he had heard this man ſay, but alſo upon the diſcourſe of the ſoldiers at Paris, and that of the ſieur de St. Gorges, among others, who ſaid, that, if the king would make war upon the Holy Father, he would obey him, being thereto obliged; and that, if the king did wrong, he only was to anſwer for it.

We ſhewed him a heart of Coſt-mary root, which he acknowledged to have been taken from him; and he ſaid, it had been given him by monſieur Guillebaut, canon of Angoulême, to cure him of a fever, ſaying, that there was within it a little bit of wood of the real Holy Croſs, conſecrated by the capuchin friars, which had that virtue; and for that purpoſe he had ſent Mary Moſeau, his landlady, to the capuchins for it, and ever ſince he had wore it about his neck.

We ordered it to be opened in his preſence; but there was no wood to be found in the inſide.

Upon which he ſaid, that it was not him who was deceived, but the perſon who gave it him.

We ſhewed him a pair of beads, which, he ſaid, he had bought in St. James's-ſtreet ſeven or eight days ago; that he had ſaid his prayers with them, and wore them ever ſince conſtantly.

He was aſked, what perſons he kept company with after he had reſumed his intention to kill the king?

He ſaid, he kept company with none but the friars of his own country, who are at the convent of the dominican friars, whither he uſed to go to hear maſs and veſpers.

He was aſked, what diſcourſe he had with them? and if he had ſpoke to them of his viſions?

He ſaid, that he had told them what he had told to others.

He was aſked, if he was acquainted with a man whoſe name was Colletet? and what diſcourſe they had together?

He ſaid, that he knew him only by lodging in the ſame room with him; that they lay together, but that he had not ſpoke to him of his deſign.

He was aſked, if he had any diſcourſe with any other friars?

He ſaid, not in this laſt journey.

If he had had any diſcourſe with a franciſcan friar of Angoulême?

He ſaid, Yes: but that he had not ſpoke to him of his enterpriſe, and of his imaginations.

He was told, that he did not ſay the truth; for that he had ſpoke to him of his imaginations, aſking his opinion whether he, who had ſuch imaginations, ought to declare them to his confeſſor?

To this he anſwered, that he had not ſpoke to a franciſcan of his own country, but to another whom he met near Bourg de La-Royre, with whom he joined company; and, becauſe he had no acquaintance in this city, he gave him part of his own lodgings, and carried letters from his friends to procure him admiſſion into the convent, that he alſo carried his bundle for him; and that the name of this friar was Le-Febure.

It was obſerved to him, that, during the reading of his examination, when the wounds he had given the king were mentioned, he had aſked pardon of God for that crime, but that the true means to obtain it, was to acknowledge the truth; that his pretence for committing that action was ſo ſlight, that he muſt certainly have been prompted to it by ſome one who was concerned in the ſucceſs of that miſerable ſtroke, of which we feel the effects.

He ſaid, that, ſince he has been under confinement, he had been urged by ſeveral perſons to make this confeſſion, and even by the archbiſhop of Aix; but that he had been prompted by no perſon whatever, but by his own deſires; and that, however he might be tormented, he ſhould never ſay any thing elſe; that, if torments could have forced him to confeſs, he had ſuffered ſufficiently by the torture which a huguenot of his own private authority gave him, when he kept him priſoner at the Hôtel de Retz, by which he had the bone of his thumb broke.

He was told, that he had been choſe to commit this action as a proper inſtrument of miſchief; he whoſe whole life had been wicked, and who had begun with uſing a father and a mother ill, and reducing them to beggary.

He ſaid, that it would not be found ſo; and that his father and mother, who were ſtill living, would witneſs the contrary, as well as the people where he dwelt; that he had been indeed accuſed and condemned for it, but it was by falſe witneſſes; for he was innocent.

He was aſked, when he was at Bruſſels?

He ſaid, that he never was out of the kingdom; and that he did not know where Bruſſels is.

The examination being read to the ſaid Ravaillac, he perſiſted in his anſwers, and ſigned his name

RAVAILLAC.

The examination taken next morning, at the palace, by us the commiſſioners, the firſt preſident being ſick.

THE priſoner being ſent for as before, and his oath taken,

He was aſked, what was his rank and condition? and if he had a father or mother alive?

He ſaid, that he is a practitioner of the law, and that, before his confinement, he employed himſelf in inſtructing youth; and that his father is likewiſe a practitioner of the law, and that his mother is ſeparated from his father.

We having again ordered his examination to be read to him, he perſiſted in his anſwers, without adding or diminiſhing any thing, except only that he omitted ſaying, as he did now, that he had been carried to the commiſſion of that crime, becauſe the king would not permit juſtice to be done upon the huguenots, for the attempt they made laſt Chriſtmas to murder all the catholics, for which attempt many of the huguenots had been taken priſoners, and brought into this city; yet he had been told, by ſeveral perſons, were not puniſhed.

He was told, that it was falſe; and that, although he had heard it, he ſhould not have believed it, nor have been induced to commit a deed ſo wicked and abominable.

He ſaid, that this was one of his circumſtances which helped to ſtrengthen the temptation.

He was told, that it was the advice and inſtruction of others which ſtrengthened it.

He

He ſaid, that no one was engaged in the deſign but himſelf.

He was aſked, if he lived in the ſame country with his father and mother?

He ſaid, that he lived with his father and mother, but that his father neither loved him nor his mother.

He was aſked, how he maintained himſelf?

He ſaid that he had eighty ſcholars, and that, with what he gained from them, he ſupported himſelf in the journeys he had made to this city.

He was aſked, if his father and mother obſerved his conduct?

He ſaid, that his father had not lived with them theſe ſix years; that he hated him; and that he had lived with his mother only, his ſiſters having likewiſe left her.

He was aſked, what means he had of living?

He ſaid, that his father and mother lived upon alms, and he himſelf upon what he gained from his ſcholars, one of whom gave him bacon, another fleſh, another corn, wine, &c. and by what his friends furniſhed him with.

He was aſked, who were his friends?

He ſaid, that they were the fathers and mothers of his ſcholars.

He was aſked, why he did not ſtay in his own country, ſince he could get a livelyhood there?

He ſaid, that he thought he ſhould prefer the honour of God to all things.

He was told, that it was not for the honour of God to kill his king, but that it was an act of the devil.

He ſaid, that it was a wicked temptation, which did not proceed from God, but was a puniſhment to him for his ſins.

He was asked, if he was not filled with horror at the commiſſion of an act ſo abominable, and of ſo fatal conſequence to all France?

He ſaid, that he was ſorry for having committed it, but that ſince it was done, he implored God to give him grace, that he might be able to continue till death in good faith, lively hope, and perfect charity, and that he hoped God was more merciful, and his will to ſave him more powerful, than the act which he had committed was to damn him.

He was told, that he could not be in the grace of God, after having committed ſo wicked an action.

He ſaid, that he hoped our all-powerful Lord would not make him ſuffer for it.

He

He was told, that he ought not to hope for the mercy of God, unleſs he acknowledged the truth, and declared who the perſons were who had incited and perſuaded him to ſo wicked a deed.

He ſaid, that his only reaſon for committing it was, what he had declared before at his examination.

He was asked, if he had imparted his intention to any one.

He ſaid, that he had not to any perſon whatever.

He was told, that he was too mean and inconſiderable a perſon to have conceived ſuch a deſign, and that he muſt have been adviſed and ſupported by others.

He ſaid, that no perſon adviſed him.

He was told, that he was ſo much the more wicked, if he undertook ſuch an enterprize without being adviſed to it; therefore he would do well to declare who were his adviſers.

To this he anſwered, that the reaſon why he did not declare this pernicious intention to prieſts, and men who have the care of ſouls, was, that he was well aſſured if he had diſcloſed to them his deſign of killing the king, it was their duty to ſeize his perſon, and put him into the hands of juſtice; ſince whenever the public is concerned, prieſts are obliged to reveal all confeſſions; for this reaſon therefore he would not open himſelf to any perſon, through a fear that he might be puniſhed with death, as well for his intention of killing the king, as if he had really done it, for which he asked pardon of God.

He was told, that the church commands, that all evil thoughts ſhould be revealed in confeſſion, and to neglect it is a deadly ſin.

He ſaid, that he acknowledged this.

He was told, that he had mentioned it.

He ſaid, he had not.

He was asked, if he had ſpoken of it to a franciſcan friar?

He ſaid, No.

He was told, that he did not ſpeak the truth, for that he had mentioned it to a franciſcan friar, aſking him, whether, if a man had ſtrange viſions, ſuch as to kill the king, he ought to declare them in his confeſſion?

He ſaid, that it was true he had conſulted a friar upon this head, but did not tell him that he would do it.

He was asked, who it was that he conſulted?

He ſaid, a young franciſcan friar, named Le-Febure, to whom he put this queſtion, Whether if a man was aſſaulted with a temptation, ſuch as to kill a king, and ſhould confeſs it to the penitentiary, he ſhould be under a neceſſity of revealing it? but being interrupted by another

another friar, he could not know the friar's opinion concerning the caſe that he put to him.

He was told, that he did not ſay the truth, and that the franciſcan did make him an anſwer; and he was asked, if he would believe the franciſcan if he owned it?

He ſaid, that he would not believe him; but that it was his opinion, that if the friar had given him an anſwer, it was, that he ought to reveal his imaginations; but he was interrupted, and therefore would not give him an anſwer; neither did he, the accuſed, propoſe the queſtion to him, as if he was the man who had the temptation, but in general, as if it ſhould happen to any man.

He was told, that he did not acknowledge the truth, and that he did declare his intentions to him.

He ſaid, that it was very unlikely that he ſhould do ſo; that he had applied, as well to lay-men as to others, even to an equerry belonging to queen Margaret, whoſe name was De-Ferrare; he declared his viſions to him, and intreated him to procure him an opportunity to ſpeak to the king; that the equerry anſwered, he muſt firſt have proofs that he was a good man, and one who was fit to ſpeak to the king: to which he, the accuſed, made anſwer, that he thought he was good enough to ſpeak to the king. He added, that probably if he had ſpoke to his majeſty, he would have loſt his temptation. That he afterwards applied to the ſecretary of madame de Angoulême, who told him that the king was ſick; yet he went again to the houſe of the cardinal Du-Perron, where he had the anſwer he formerly repeated, That he would do better to return to his own houſe.

He was told, that it was good counſel, and he ought to have followed it.

He ſaid, that it was true, but he was ſo weakened by his ſins that he had no power over himſelf; and that the devil made him fall into this temptation.

He was told, that the devil made uſe of others to tempt him.

He ſaid, that no man had ever ſpoke to him on the ſubject.

He was told, that he could not hope for the grace of God, unleſs he diſcharged his conſcience.

He ſaid, that he had ſome fears, but he alſo had great hopes of the grace of God.

He was told, that he could not expect it but by declaring the truth.

He ſaid, that if he had been employed by any one in France, or by a foreigner, and ſhould be ſo abandoned by God as to die without declaring it; he ſhould not believe that he would be ſaved, or that there would

would be any paradiſe for him, becauſe *abiſſus abiſſunt*, &c. as he had learned of the preachers of our Lord; that one abyſs of ſins leads into others; that it was to double his crime, that the king, more eſpecially the queen, the whole houſe of France, the court, the nobility, and all the people, ſhould, on his account, be induced to offend God, while their minds remained in a perpetual inquietude, ſuſpecting unjuſtly, ſometimes one, ſometimes another, of their ſubjects; none of whom, he believed, were ſo imprudent, as to entertain a thought of being diſloyal to their princes.

He was told, that if that was his opinion, he ought the more readily to declare who had perſuaded him to the crime.

He ſaid, that no Frenchman, foreigner, or any other, had ever adviſed, perſuaded, or ſpoke to him on this ſubject; neither had he, the accuſed, ever mentioned it to any one: he was not ſo wicked as to have committed that deed for any other cauſe than what he had declared to us, namely, that he believed the king intended to make war upon the Pope.

He was told, that this was a falſe pretence.

He ſaid, that he was very ſorry for what he had done, and that he earneſtly begged of every one to lay aſide their ſuſpicions of his having been ſet on to murder the king, and to believe that he only was concerned in that deed; and that they would not look with an evil eye, or bear any one ill will, ſince he alone was guilty.

He was asked, if he had ever been in ſervice?

He ſaid, that he had ſerved the late monſieur Roſieres, a counſellor of Angoulême; and that he had lived likewiſe with ſome attorneys, who are now dead.

He was asked, if he had ever ſerved any nobleman, as a page, footman, or valet de chambre?

He ſaid, that he had not; but when he lived with counſellor Roſieres, as his clerk, he likewiſe ſerved him as a valet de chambre.

He was asked, if he had ſeen the coronation laſt Tueſday, and if he had followed the king?

He ſaid, he had not.

He was aſked, if he had been on the road to Saint-Denis?

He ſaid, not this laſt journey, but at Chriſtmas laſt, when he went to beg alms of the bakers.

He was asked, if he had been there laſt week?

He ſaid, he had not gone farther than Saint-Jean-en-Greve, and le Pont Notre-Dame.

He

He was asked, if he had any magical characters about him? and who had given them to him?

He ſaid, he ſhould have thought it a wicked thing to have them.

His examination being read to him, he perſiſted in his anſwers, and ſigned his name,

RAVAILLAC.

Underneath which he wrote theſe lines:

Que toujours en moncœur,
Jeſus ſoit le vainqueur.

In my heart let Jeſus be always conqueror.

Father James Daubigny, prieſt of the college of jeſuits, was this day ſent for into court by us the commiſſioners, in the preſence of Ravaillac; both of them acknowledged the oaths they had taken.

THE ſaid Ravaillac acknowledged, that the ſaid father Daubigny was the perſon whom he had heard ſay maſs ſome time after laſt Chriſtmas, in their church in Saint Antony's ſtreet; that having been told he was the friend of father Mary Magdalen the feuillant, he went to ſeek him, to intreat him to procure his admiſſion into that order; that after maſs was over, he ſpoke to him by means of a lay brother, and declared to him, that he had great viſions and imaginations, importing, that the king ought to reduce the followers of the pretended reformation; and that he ſhewed the ſaid Daubigny a little knife, whereon was a heart and a croſs; believing, that the king ought to bring back the followers of the pretended reformation to the catholic and roman church.

The ſaid Daubigny replied, that all this was falſe, and that he had never ſeen the ſaid Ravaillac.

The ſaid Ravaillac anſwered, by the ſame token you gave me a penny, which you asked of one that was near you.

To this the ſaid Daubigny anſwered, that the priſoner was a very bad man; and after having committed ſo wicked an action, he had ſins enough to anſwer for, without being the cauſe of an hundred thouſand others, which might be committed.

The priſoner was then told, that if he had any objections to make to father Daubigny, he muſt make them immediately.

He ſaid that he had none; that he looked upon the ſaid father Daubigny to be an honeſt man, a good religious, and that he would believe him.

In like manner, the ſaid Daubigny being told of the ordinance,

that he muſt make his objections to the priſoner immediately, for they would not afterwards be received.

He ſaid, that he had nothing elſe to ſay, but that the priſoner was a very wicked man, and had uttered ſeveral falſhoods.

The examination of the ſaid Daubigny being read in the preſence of the ſaid Ravaillac, he, the ſaid Daubigny, perſiſted in his anſwers, and declared that they were true.

But the ſaid Ravaillac declared, that he had ſpoke to the ſaid Daubigny; that he went to look for him when he came out of the Louvre, and told him that he had temptations; and that when he was in priſon making his meditations, by permiſſion of father Mary Magdalen, his hands and feet had ſent forth a ſtench of ſulphur and fire; which were proofs of the exiſtence of a purgatory, contrary to the erroneous opinion of heretics; that he had viſions of the ſacred hoſts on each ſide of his face, having before ſung the pſalms of David; and, in a word, that he had related all thoſe circumſtances to him which he had declared to us the day before in his examination: and that the ſaid Daubigny ſaid to him, in anſwer, that he, the ſaid Ravaillac, ought to apply to ſome great men to admoniſh the king: however, ſince he had not done it, it was more proper for him to pray to God, he being of opinion, that thoſe viſions he ſpoke of were merely imaginary, and the effects of a diſordered brain, as might be perceived by his looks; that he ought to eat good ſoop, go to his own country, tell his beads, and pray to God.

To this the ſaid Daubigny replied, that theſe were all dreams and lies.

We having cauſed the queſtions that were put to the ſaid Ravaillac concerning the ſaid Daubigny, with his anſwers, to be read to him in the preſence of Daubigny, the ſaid Ravaillac perſiſted in his anſwers, and declared that they were true.

The ſaid Daubigny replied, that all which the ſaid Ravaillac had depoſed againſt him was falſe, as he had before declared to us.

Upon this, Ravaillac, being farther queſtioned, replied, that he had never ſeen the ſaid Daubigny but that one time.

Their examination being read to them, they perſiſted in their anſwers, and ſigned their names.

The examination taken on the 19th of the ſaid month of May, in the Morning, at the Palace, by us the commiſſioners.

THE ſaid Ravaillac being brought into court, and his oath taken, he was required to declare, who thoſe perſons were that had prompted him to ſo wicked an undertaking.

He

He ſaid, that all which now remained for him to declare was, his intention and earneſt deſire to free himſelf from the load of his ſins; that the whole nation was, upon his account, led to believe that he had been bribed by the enemies of France to kill the king, or by foreign kings and princes, who were deſirous of aggrandiſing themſelves, as was too common among the kings and great potentates of the earth, who do not conſider whether their motive for making war is agreeable to the will of God; or elſe through a covetous deſire of appropriating unjuſtly to themſelves the territories of other princes; but that the truth was, he, the priſoner, had not been incited to that action by any perſon whatever; for if he could have been ſo wicked as to have committed it for money, or for the intereſt of foreigners, he would have acknowledged it in the preſence of God, before whom he now maintained the truth: that he therefore intreated the queen, the court, and the whole nation, to believe him, and not to charge his ſoul with the crime they commit, in ſuppoſing that he was prompted to that parricide by any other; for that this ſin would fall heavy on him the priſoner, for being the cauſe of the uncertainty they were in which gave riſe to their ſuſpicions; and he therefore implored them to lay thoſe ſuſpicions aſide, ſince no one but himſelf was able to judge of the fact, and it was ſuch as he had confeſſed.

It was remonſtrated to him, that, ſince he had neither been injured in his perſon or goods by any command or ordinance of the king's, it was not probable he would make an attempt upon his ſacred perſon, whom he knew to be God's anointed, unleſs he had been perſuaded to it by ſome other perſons, and had received money from them; he being a poor man, in want of the neceſſaries of life, and the ſon of parents who lived upon alms.

He ſaid, that it is ſufficiently proved to the court through the courſe of his examination, if he had, through the force of money, or by the perſuaſions of perſons who were ambitious of the ſcepter of France, been prevailed upon to murder the king, he would not have come three times expreſsly from Angoulême to Paris, which was a hundred leagues diſtant from each other, to admoniſh the king to bring back the followers of the pretended reformation to the catholic, apoſtolic, and roman church, as being perſons who acted contrary to the will of God and his church; for a man who could be ſo wicked as to ſuffer himſelf to be corrupted, through avarice, to aſſaſſinate his prince, would not have come three ſeveral times to admoniſh him as he had done; and that, ſince he had committed this parricide, the ſieur de La-Force, cap-

tain of the guards, has acknowledged that he, the priſoner, had been at the Louvre, and earneſtly entreated him to procure the means of ſpeaking to the king; and that the ſaid ſieur de La-Force told him he was a furious papiſt, aſking him if he knew monſieur D'Epernon; to which he, the priſoner, replied, that he did know monſieur D'Epernon, and that he himſelf was not a furious papiſt; but that, when he had taken the habit in the monaſtery of St. Bernard, father Francis de St. Peter was appointed to be his ſpiritual father; and, ſince he was a true roman, and apoſtolic catholic, he was deſirous of living and dying ſuch: and he intreated the ſaid ſieur de La-Force to bring him to the ſpeech of the king; for he durſt not declare to him the temptation he had ſo long to kill the king, all he wanted was to tell it to his majeſty, to the end that he might no longer be troubled with his bad intention.

He was aſked, whether, when he took thoſe journeys to adviſe the king to make war upon the followers of the pretended reformation, he deſigned, in caſe his majeſty had not complied with his deſires, to have committed the wicked act he had done?

He ſaid, he did not intend it in that caſe; for he ſhould have laid aſide his deſign, and have thought it was better to make him that remonſtrance than to kill him.

It was objected to him, that he had not changed his wicked intention, ſince, after his laſt journey from Angoulême, in Eaſter, he had not ſought for an opportunity to ſpeak to the king, which was a proof that he left Angoulême with a reſolution to do what he had done.

He ſaid, it was true.

He was aſked, if, from Eaſter-day to that on which he left Angoulême, he had received the holy communion?

He ſaid, he had not; and that he received it the firſt Sunday in Lent; but that he had, nevertheleſs, cauſed the holy ſacrifice of the maſs to be celebrated in St. Paul's church at Angoulême, which was his pariſh church, as acknowledging himſelf unworthy of the moſt holy and auguſt ſacrament, full of myſtery and incomprehenſible virtue, becauſe he was troubled with the temptation which prompted him to kill the king, and would not in ſuch a ſtate approach the precious body of his God.

It was objected to him, that, ſince he perceived he was not worthy of that myſtery which he called incomprehenſible, he could not aſſiſt with any devotion at that holy ſacrifice celebrated by the prieſt, of which all chriſtians participate, receiving ſpiritually that which he who conſecrates receives actually.

To

To this he was ſilent. He continued ſome time penſive and in thought, and then ſaid, that he did not well know what to anſwer to their remonſtrance; afterwards he ſaid, that he remembered that it was his great affection for the moſt holy ſacrament of the altar, which induced him to have it celebrated; and that he hoped he ſhould participate of the communion by means of his mother, who was going to receive her God in that ſacrifice; becauſe he was always of opinion, that ſhe was more pious, and had more love for her God than he had. Saying this he ſhed many tears.

He was told, that he could have no reverence for, nor any faith in the holy communion and ſacrifice of the maſs, ſince he had, for a long time, been under the influence of the devil, and been accuſtomed to invoke demons, whom he cauſed to appear to him, when he lodged in this city, about four years ago.

He ſaid, that he never had invoked demons.

He was aſked, if he knew a man named Dubois, born in Limoges? and whether they lodged together in this city, and lay in the ſame chamber?

He ſaid, he did know him: that they lodged together at the ſign of the Rats, oppoſite to the Green Pillar in Harp-ſtreet.

He was aſked, if he would believe what the ſaid Dubois ſhould ſay?

He ſaid, Yes, he would believe him.

He was aſked, whether, as he lay in bed with the ſaid Dubois, he did not uſe ſome magical incantation invoking the demons? and in what manner?

He ſaid, that this was ſo far from being true, that he did not even lie in the ſame chamber with the ſaid Dubois, but in a garret over the room where he, the ſaid Dubois, lay: that, about midnight, the ſaid Dubois, repeating *Credo in Deum*, earneſtly entreated him, ſeveral times, to come down to him; ſaying, Ravaillac, my friend, come down; and crying aloud, My God, have mercy upon me: that thereupon he, the priſoner, would have gone down to him to know why he cryed out for help in ſuch a manner, but he was hindered by ſome perſons in the room with him, who were terrified with the cries of the ſaid Dubois: but that he, the priſoner, going down to Dubois ſome time afterwards, he told him, that he had ſeen a black dog of a monſtrous ſize, and very terrible, which came and laid its two fore-paws upon the bed; and that the terror this viſion threw him into made him utter thoſe cries, and entreat that he, the priſoner, would come into his room and ſtay with him; upon which he, the priſoner, adviſed the ſaid Dubois to have recourſe

recourſe to the celebration of the holy ſacrifice of the altar, in order to get rid of his horrible viſions, and to cauſe maſs to be ſaid the next morning; and that they went together accordingly the next morning to the convent of the franciſcan friars, and cauſed the holy maſs to be ſaid, to draw down the grace of God upon them, and to preſerve them from the incurſions of the devils, the common enemies of mankind.

It was objected to him, that it was not at all probable that the ſaid Dubois ſhould have called to him, who lay ſo high; or that he ſhould have heard his voice.

He anſwered, that nothing was more likely, it being one of the properties of the voice to aſcend; but that, ſince the court would not believe him, the truth of what he ſaid would be atteſted by thoſe perſons who were in the room where he lay, and who hindered him from going to the ſaid Dubois; that they were his landlady, Mary Moiſeau, and a couſin of hers, named John Le-Blond, who came into his room on account of the great noiſe they had heard, and for which he had quitted the room of the ſaid Dubois, where he had lain before.

He was told, that he had no deſire to get rid of his temptation, and therefore would not receive the communion on Eaſter-day, leſt it ſhould have the power to divert him from his purpoſe.

He ſaid, that his reaſon for not receiving the communion was, that he had on Eaſter-day, taken a reſolution to kill the king, and upon that account he would not really, and, in fact, receive the precious body of our Lord; but had a deſire to hear the holy maſs before he ſet out, believing that the ſacrament, which his mother received that day, would be ſufficient both for her and him, as he then begged of God that it might, and as he did now, and would to his death implore him, that he might be made partaker of all the holy communions, taken by the religious of both ſexes, by good men ſeculars, and others in the catholic, apoſtolic, and roman church, receiving in the faith of our holy mother the church, the precious body of our Redeemer; and that, being thus received by them he might be made partaker of it, as believing himſelf a member of one only Jeſus Chriſt.

He was told, that, having reſolved upon ſo wicked an act, he was in the ſtate of mortal ſin, and in danger of damnation, and could not partake of the grace of God, and the communion of good chriſtians, while he continued to have this wicked intention; and that he ought to have altered it, if he hoped to be in the grace of God as a good catholic and chriſtian, as he would be thought to be.

He ſaid, that he did not, in the leaſt, doubt but that he was prompted to it by the motions of his own mind, againſt the will of God, the author

thor of all truth, contrary to the devil, who is the father of lies: but that now, through the remonſtrance of the court, he acknowledged that he either could not or would not reſiſt that temptation, it being out of the power of men to hinder him from committing that wicked action; that he now declared the whole truth, without ſuppreſſing or concealing any thing; therefore he hoped that God, who was all good and merciful, would grant him pardon and remiſſion of his ſins, he being more powerful to ſave him, provided he made confeſſion and received abſolution, than men were to hurt him; and that he beſeeched the Holy Virgin Mary, Monſieur St. Peter, Monſieur St. Francis, (here he wept) Monſieur St. Bernard, and all the celeſtial court of Paradiſe, to be his advocates and interceſſors with the moſt ſacred majeſty, to the end that he might interpoſe his croſs between his ſoul and hell; and by that he hoped to be made a partaker of the merits of our Saviour Chriſt's paſſion, moſt humbly beſeeching him that he would give him grace to continue aſſociated with the merits of all thoſe treaſures he gave to the apoſtolic power on earth, when he ſaid, *Thou art Peter*, &c.

His examination being read to him, he perſiſted in his anſwers, and ſigned his name

RAVAILLAC.

On the 27th of May, 1610, *in the Morning, at the Palace.*

The Confrontation of the Witneſſes before us, ACHILLES DE HARLAY, *Knight, firſt Preſident*; NICHOLAS POTIER, *Preſident*; PROSPER BAVIN *and* JOHN COURTIN, *Counſellors*, &c.

PAUL Noſter, exempt of the guards, was confronted with the priſoner; both of them acknowleged the oath they had taken.

The accuſed ſaid, that the witneſs was the perſon who took him priſoner, and the witneſs, that the accuſed was the priſoner whom he took.

The priſoner then was told, that, if he had any objections to make againſt the witneſs, he muſt make them immediately, according to the ordinance of the realm.

He ſaid, that he had none.

The depoſition of this witneſs being read to him, he perſiſted in it; and the priſoner acknowledging that it was true, they both ſigned it.

The priſoner was then confronted with James de Pluviers, Eſq; of St. Michael.

The oath idem, &c.

The

The priſoner was then confronted with Jerome de La-Robye, equerry to the king.

The oath idem, &c.

The priſoner was then confronted with Gamaliel Edovart, one of the king's footmen.

The oath idem, &c.

The priſoner ſaid, that he knew him to be one of the king's footmen, but that he did not know if he was the perſon who ſeized him after he committed the act; and, being put in mind of the ordinance, he ſaid, he had no objection to make to him.

The priſoner was then confronted with Peter Dubois.

The oath idem, &c.

The priſoner acknowledged, that what he ſaid was true; but that it was by his advice that the witneſs had been to hear maſs at the convent of the franciſcan friars, at which he likewiſe was preſent.

They both ſigned their names.

May 27th, 1610, *the Court ſat in the Afternoon in the Chamber de* LA-BEUVETTE.

WE the preſidents, and ſeveral of the counſellors being preſent, the priſoner, Francis Ravaillac, was brought into court, who having been accuſed and convicted of parricide committed of the late king, he was ordered to kneel, and the clerk of the court pronounced the ſentence of death given againſt him; as likewiſe that he ſhould be put to the torture to force him to declare his accomplices.

His oath being taken, he was exhorted to redeem himſelf from the torments preparing for him, by acknowleging the truth, and declaring who thoſe perſons were that had perſuaded, prompted, and abetted him, in that moſt wicked action, and to whom he had diſcloſed his intention of committing it.

He ſaid, By the ſalvation I hope for, no one but myſelf was concerned in this action.

He was then ordered to be put to the torture of the brodequin *, and the firſt wedge being drove, he cried out, "God have mercy upon "my ſoul, and pardon the crime I have committed; I never diſcloſed "my intention to any one." This he repeated as he had done in his interrogation.

* The brodequin is a ſtrong wooden box, made in the form of a boot, juſt big enough to contain both the legs of the criminal, which being put therein, a wooden wedge is then drove with a mallet between his knees, and after that is forced quite through, a ſecond wedge of a larger ſize, is applied in the ſame manner.

When the ſecond wedge was drove, he ſaid with loud cries and ſhrieks, "I am a ſinner, I know no more than I have declared, by the "oath I have taken, and by the truth which I owe to God and the "court: all I have ſaid was to the little franciſcan, which I have "already declared: I never mentioned my deſign in confeſſion, or in "any other way: I never ſpoke of it to the viſitor of Angoulême, nor "revealed it in confeſſion in this city. I beſeech the court not to "drive my ſoul to deſpair."

The executioner continuing to drive the ſecond wedge, he cried out, "My God, receive this penance as an expiation for the great crimes I "have committed in this world: Oh God! accept theſe torments in "ſatisfaction for my ſins. By the faith I owe to God, I know no "more than what I have declared. Oh! do not drive my ſoul to "deſpair."

The third wedge was then drove lower near the feet, at which a univerſal ſweat covered his body, and he fainted away. The executioner forced ſome wine into his mouth, but he could not ſwallow it; and, being quite ſpeechleſs, he was releaſed from the torture, and water thrown upon his face and hands. Some wine being forced down his throat, his ſpeech returned, and he was laid upon a mattraſs in the ſame place, where he continued till noon. When he had recovered his ſtrength, he was conducted to chapel by the executioner; and meſſieurs Filleſaſqs and Gamaches, two doctors of the Sorbonne, being ſent for, his dinner was given him; but before the divine entered into a conference with him, the clerk admoniſhed him to think of his ſalvation, and confeſs by whom he had been prompted, perſuaded, and abetted in the wicked action he had committed, and ſo long deſigned to commit; it not being probable, that he ſhould of himſelf have conceived and executed it, without communicating it to any other.

He ſaid, that if he had known more than what he had declared to the court, he would not have concealed it, well knowing, that in this caſe he could not have the mercy of God, which he hoped for and expected; and that he would not have endured the torments he had done, if he had any farther confeſſion to make. He ſaid, he acknowledged that he had committed a great crime, to which he had been incited by the temptation of the devil; that he entreated the king, the queen, the court, and the whole kingdom, to pardon him, and to cauſe prayers to be put up to God for him, that his body might bear the puniſhment for his ſoul. And being many times admoniſhed to reveal the truth, he only repeated what he had ſaid before. He was

then left with the doctors, that they might perform the duties of their office with him.

A little after two o'clock the clerk of the court was ſent for by the divines, who told him, that the condemned had charged them to ſend for him, that he might hear and ſign his confeſſion, which he deſired might be revealed, and even printed, to the end that it might be known to the whole world; which confeſſion the ſaid doctors declared to have been, That no one had been concerned with him in the act he had committed; That he had not been ſolicited, prompted, or abetted, by any other perſon whatever, nor had diſcovered his deſign to any one; That he acknowledged he had committed a great crime, for which he hoped to have the mercy of God, which was ſtill greater than his ſins, but which he could not hope to obtain if he concealed any thing.

Hereupon the clerk aſked the condemned, if he was willing that his confeſſion ſhould be known and revealed? and, as above, admoniſhed him to acknowledge the truth for the ſalvation of his ſoul. He then declared upon his oath, that he had ſaid all he knew, and that no one had incited him to commit the murder.

At three o'clock he came from the chapel; and as he was carrying out of the Conciergerie, the priſoners, in great numbers, thronged about him, with loud cries and exclamations, calling him Traitor, Wicked Wretch, Deteſtable Monſter, Damned Villain, and the like; they would have ſtruck him, had they not been hinderd by the archers, and the other officers of juſtice, who kept them off by force.

When he was put into the tumbril, the crowd was ſo great, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty the archers and officers of juſtice could force themſelves a paſſage; and as ſoon as the priſoner appeared, that vaſt multitude began to cry out, as above, Wicked Wretch, Traitor, &c.

The enraged populace continued their cries and exclamations till he arrived at the Greve; where, before he was taken out of the tumbril to mount the ſcaffold, he was again exhorted to reveal his accomplices; but he perſiſted in his former declaration, that he had none; again imploring pardon of the young king, the queen, and all the whole kingdom, for the crime he had committed.

When he had aſcended the ſcaffold, the two doctors comforted him, and exhorted him to acknowledge the truth; and after performing the duties of their function, the clerk approached him, and urged him to think of his ſalvation now at the cloſe of his life, and to confeſs all he knew; to which he only anſwered as he had done before.

The

The fire being put to his right hand, holding the knife with which he had ſtabbed the king: he cried out, *Oh God!* and often repeated, *Jeſu Maria!* while his breaſt, &c. were tearing with red-hot pincers, he renewed his cries and prayers; during which, being often admoniſhed to acknowledge the truth, he perſiſted in denying that he had any accomplices. The furious crowd continued to load him with execrations, crying, that he ought not to have a moment's reſpite. Afterwards, by intervals, melted lead and ſcalding oil were poured upon his wounds; during which he ſhrieked aloud, and continued his cries and exclamations.

The doctors again admoniſhed him, as likewiſe the clerk, to confeſs, and were preparing to offer up publickly the uſual prayers for the condemned; but immediately the people, with great tumult and diſorder, cried out againſt it, ſaying, that no prayers ought to be made for that wicked wretch, that damned monſter. So that the doctors were obliged to give over. Then the clerk remonſtrating to him, that the indignation of the people was a judgment upon him, which ought to induce him to declare the truth, he perſiſted to anſwer as formerly, ſaying, I only was concerned in the murder.

He was then drawn by four horſes, for half an hour, by intervals.

Being again queſtioned and admoniſhed, he perſiſted in denying that he had any accomplices; while the people of all ranks and degrees, both near and at a diſtance, continued their exclamations, in token of their great grief for the loſs of their king. Several perſons ſet themſelves to pull the ropes with the utmoſt eagerneſs; and one of the nobleſſe, who was near the criminal, alighted off his horſe that it might be put in the place of one which was tired with drawing him. At length when he had been drawn for a full hour by the horſes, without being diſmembered, the people ruſhing on in crowds, threw themſelves upon him, and with ſwords, knives, ſticks, and other weapons, they ſtruck, tore, and mangled his limbs; and violently forcing them from the executioner, they dragged them through the ſtreets with the utmoſt eagerneſs and rage, and burnt them in different parts of the city.

May the twenty-firſt, 1610.

THE jailor cauſed the court to be informed, that he had heard the priſoner ſay ſomething of conſequence; upon which he was ſent for, and the oath being adminiſtered to him,

He ſaid, That the evening before, carrying the priſoner's ſupper to

him, with one of his men, the two archers who guarded him being preſent, he aſked the priſoner where he was when the king went out of the Louvre? to which the priſoner replied, that he was ſitting in the hall among the footmen: and being again aſked, why he committed ſuch an action? the priſoner anſwered, " Becauſe of a great—— " but I will not tell you, but I will tell the court to-morrow; and I " could not help doing it, as I ſhall prove by my body.

Then . . . . . archer of the provoſt of l'Hotel, being ſent for, the oath was adminiſtred to him.

He repeated what the jailor had ſaid, adding, that the priſoner ſaid, that his mother had a mark like his; for which reaſon he could not avoid doing what he did; and that perceiving the king's coach to ſtop, he ſaw a viſion, which ſaid to him, *Now is the time.*

Then was heard upon oath . . . . . archer likewiſe of the provoſt of l'Hotel.

He alſo repeated what the jailor had ſaid, adding, that the priſoner ſaid, he was under the neceſſity of committing that action, by a mark which he and his mother had, that it came from heaven, and that he would declare it to the court, &c.

Sentence of Death againſt Francis Ravaillac, *May* 27, 1610.

Extracted from the Regiſters of the Parliament.

THE court, conſiſting of the great chambers of the Tournelle and the Edict, being aſſembled, and having ſeen the criminal proceedings, formed by the preſidents and counſellors in that behalf, appointed by commiſſion, at the requiſition of the king's attorney-general, againſt Francis Ravaillac, a practitioner of the law of the city of Angoulême, priſoner in the Conciergerie of the palace; as alſo the information made againſt him, the interrogatories, confeſſions, anſwers, and croſs-examinations of witneſſes, and the ſtate of the caſe by the king's attorney-general; and the ſaid Ravaillac having been heard and examined by the ſaid court, touching the matters laid to his charge; and touching the verbal proceſs of the interrogatories adminiſtrated to him on the rack; which, by order of the ſaid court, he underwent on the 25th of this month, for diſcovery of his accomplices: on conſideration of the whole,

THE ſaid court hath declared, and doth declare, the ſaid Ravaillac duly attainted of the crime of high-treaſon, divine and human, in the higheſt degree, for the moſt wicked, moſt abominable, and moſt deteſtable

teſtable parricide, committed on the perſon of the late king, Henry IV. of good and laudable memory; for reparation whereof, the court hath condemned, and doth condemn him, to make the *amende honorable*, before the principal gate of the church of Paris, whither he ſhall be carried and drawn in a tumbril in his ſhirt, bearing a lighted torch of two pound weight, and that he ſhall there ſay and declare, that wickedly and traiterouſly he hath committed the aforeſaid moſt wicked, moſt abominable, and moſt deteſtable parricide, and murdered the ſaid lord the king, by ſtabbing him twice in the body with a knife; that he repents of the ſame, and begs pardon of God, the king, and the laws: from thence he ſhall be carried to the Greve, and, on a ſcaffold to be there erected, the fleſh ſhall be torn with red-hot pincers from his breaſts, his arms, and thighs, and the calves of his legs; his right hand, holding the knife wherewith he committed the aforeſaid parricide, ſhall be ſcorched and burned with flaming brimſtone; and on the places where the fleſh has been torn with pincers, melted lead, boiling oil, ſcalding pitch, with wax and brimſtone melted together, ſhall be poured: after this, he ſhall be torn in pieces by four horſes, his limbs and body burnt to aſhes, and diſperſed in the air. His goods and chattels are alſo declared to be forfeited and confiſcated to the king. And it is further ordained, that the houſe in which he was born ſhall be pulled down to the ground (the owner thereof being previouſly indemnified) and that no other building ſhall ever hereafter be erected on the foundation thereof: and that within fifteen days after the publication of this preſent ſentence, his father and mother ſhall, by ſound of trumpet and public proclamation in the city of Angoulême, be baniſhed out of the kingdom, and forbid ever to return, under the penalty of being hanged and ſtrangled, without any farther form or proceſs at law. The court have alſo forbidden, and doth forbid, his brothers, ſiſters, uncles, and others, from henceforth to bear the ſaid name of Ravaillac, enjoining them to change it to ſome other, under the like penalties; and ordering the ſubſtitute of the king's attorney-general to cauſe this preſent ſentence to be publiſhed and carried into execution, under pain of being anſwerable for the ſame; and before the execution thereof, the court doth order, that the ſaid Ravaillac ſhall again undergo the torture, for the diſcovery of his accomplices.

Pronounced and executed the 27th day of May, 1610.

VOISIN.

Extract

Extract from the Regiſters of Parliament.

THE court, conſiſting of the great chambers of the Tournelle and the Edict, being aſſembled, and proceeded to judgment on the criminal proceſs extraordinary, formed at the requiſition of the king's attorney-general, on account of the moſt wicked, moſt cruel, and moſt deteſtable parricide, committed on the ſacred perſon of the late king Henry IV. and having thereupon heard the king's ſaid attorney-general; hath ordered, and doth order, that, at the inſtance of the dean and ſyndic of the faculty of divinity, the ſaid faculty ſhall be aſſembled, as ſoon as may be, to deliberate; and having heard the tenor of the decree of the ſaid faculty of the 13th of December, 1413, and the reſolution founded on the opinion of one hundred forty-one doctors of the ſaid faculty, ſince confirmed by the council of Conſtance; *That it is not lawful for any one, whoever he be, to make any attempt on the ſacred perſons of kings, and other ſovereign princes.* The ſaid decree thereon to be made by the ſaid aſſembly, ſhall be ſubſcribed by all the doctors of the ſaid faculty, who ſhall have been preſent at the deliberations; and alſo by all the batchelors, who are members of the body of divinity; which ſaid decree being communicated to the ſaid attorney-general, and produced to this court, ſuch order ſhall be made thereon as reaſon ſhall require.

Done in parliament, the 27th May, 1610.

AGE-

A

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Anton. (Claude Batarnai d') [illegible] and to the wife of Admiral Coligny, i. 14.

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Archdukes and Archduchesſes. Princes and princeſſes of that name. See *Auſtria.*

Archprieſt. Eſtabliſhed in England by the Pope. The cauſe of great troubles, ii. 207. See *Clement* VIII. *James* I. and *Jeſuits.*

Ardembourg. The archduke Albert fails in his attempt upon this place, ii. 360.

Ardres. Taken by the Spaniards, i. 366.

Aremberg. (John de Ligne, count of) Ambaſſador from the archduke to king James, ii. 168. Cabals in London, 171. Audience refuſed him by the king of England till Sully had his, 183. Compliments and preſents which Sully and he make each other, 188. King James complains of his conduct, 193. Errors he is guilty of in his negotiation, 212. Goes to Windſor, 241. The king delays giving him his ſecond audience,

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Argelets. From whence called, i. 85.

Argentan. The duke of Montpenſier takes this city for the king, and defeats the Gautiers there, i. 145. See *Montpenſier, League.*

Argentier. (L') One of the farmers of the revenue, i. 425. Sully cauſes him to be proſecuted, ii. 35. Bon-mot of Henry's on this ſubject, ib.

Argenton. Henry IV. diſlodges the troops of the League from this place, i. 126.

Argouges. (Florent d') Treaſurer of the queen's houſhold, ii. 307. Brings a comptant to Sully, which that miniſter refuſes to ſign, 279—288.

Ariat. (N. d') Succours the inhabitants of Villemur againſt the forces of the League, i. 211. See *Joyeuſe, Villemur.*

Arlieux. Monſieur attacks this paſſage, Sully takes ſome priſoners there, i. 64. See *Anjou, Sully.*

Armagnac. (County of) Erected into a preſidial, i. 447. Law-ſuit loſt by Henry IV. to the ſieur de Fontrailles for this county, ib.

Armagnac. Firſt gentlemau of the bed-chamber to Henry IV. i. 322, ii. 101. iii. 237.

Armand. (Father) A jeſuit, labours ſucceſsfully for the re-eſtabliſhment of that ſociety in France, ii. 271, 272.

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Arnaud. (Anthony) Advocate for the univerſity of Paris againſt the jeſuits, i. 308. See *Jeſuits, Univerſity.*

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——— (The ſecond brother). Secretary to Sully. Marſhal Biron's converſation with him upon the ſcaffold, ii. 113. Informations given him by a canon of Canterbury upon the intrigues of Spain in London, 169—359—501. Mary of Medicis makes him a member of her privy-council, iii. 248. Sully's reſentment againſt him, 250. Sully ſends him to Conchini to make him ſome compliments in his name: what paſſed upon this occaſion, 361. Favours beſtowed upon him by the queen regent, iii. 291. ſhe makes him intendant of the finances. Sully's advice to him, 301.

——— (The third brother) Colonel. Advice given him by Sully, iii. 301.

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Arnes. (N. d') A proteſtant gentleman, eſcapes the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, i. 24.

Aro. The proteſtant party of the Griſons hold an aſſembly there, ii. 373.

Arpentis. (Lewis Du-Bois des) Governor of Touraine, i. 82. Services which Sully receives from him, 87.

Arques. (Battle of) i. 139.

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——— (Antony d'). Commandant of the citadel of Metz, ii. 143.

Arragon. (Admiral of) Aſſiſts for the king of Spain at the publication of the peace of Vervins at Paris, i. 471. Commands the Spaniſh army in Flanders, 517. Unable to ſuccour Grave, ii. 137.

Arras. (Sully's anceſtors have the title of protector of the church of) i. 5. Marſhal Biron the cauſe that the attempt upon this place failed, 378. Henry reſolves to beſiege it in form, 379. The taking of Amiens by the Spaniards obliges him to lay aſide this deſign, 426.

Arrets. Edicts and reſolutions upon the finances, war, politics, and commerce, &c. See each of theſe articles.

Arſcot. (Duke of) Aſſiſts at the publication of the peace of Vervins at Paris, i. 471.

Arſenal of Paris. The duke of Sully reſides there, i. 494. Repairs it, ii. 12. Receives the king and queen there, 53. Interlude preſented there, 93. Works carried on by Sully, 351; and in the other arſenals of the kingdom, 428. He eſtabliſhes a ſchool for military exerciſes, 493. Running at the ring. Henry's frequent viſits there, iii. 7, and following. See *Henry IV. Sully.* A large hall and amphitheatre built there by Sully for theatrical repreſentations, 49. He entertains and lodges Henry there, who goes frequently to viſit him, 128.

Arſon. Deputy to the duke of Bouillon in the affair of Sedan, ii. 518.

Artois. (Counts of) The ſovereignty of the earldom of St. Paul conteſted for by them and the counts of Bologna, ii. 377. See *Saint Paul.*

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Arundel. (Palace of) Sully lodged there during his embaſſy to London, ii. 173.

Aferly. (Prince of) Commands the Spaniſh troops in Champagne, i. 170. Suffers Noyon to be taken, ibid.

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Aubagnac. Agent for the duke of Bouillon, ii. 482.

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Aubin. (Saint) Agent to the duke of Bouillon, ii. 123.

Auguſtus. The conformity between the reign of Henry IV. and his, iii. 58.

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Avias. (Father) Mentioned in a letter of father Cotton's, iii. 114.

Avignon. A diſpute concerning the bridge of that city, between the Pope and the king of France, terminated in favour of the king, ii. 375.

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Aumale. (Charles de Lorrain, duke of) Aſſiſts the league, i. 138. Narrowly eſcapes being taken priſoner by Sully, 145. Defeated before Noyon, 169, 170. His wife treats with Sully about his return to the king's party, 279. Serves the Spaniards in Flanders, ii. 149.

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Pangeac, or *Pangeas.* (N. de Pardaillan de) Obliges the count of Soissons to quit Bearn, and is ill used by him on that account, i. 207.

Pangeac. (Madame de) Gives good advice to the princess Catherine, i. 389. Endeavours to restore Sully to her favour, 305. Gives an exact inventory of the effects of that princess, ii. 270.

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Paré. (Amboise) Surgeon to Charles IX. his conversation with that prince concerning the massacre of St. Bartholomew, i. 30.

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Pommeyac. (iſle and caſtle of) Uſurped by the grand duke of Tuſcany, and afterwards reſtored to France, ii. 78.

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Poterie. (La) A gentleman attached to Sully, and present with him at the skirmish at Chartres, i. 167, 168.

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Pouques. (Waters of) Taken with success by Henry IV. ii. 162. 315.

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